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CONTENTS

Laura Elizabeth Luttrell
Mary U. Rothrock 3

Is Civil War History Polarized?—A Question Suggested By The Career of Thomas A. R. Nelson
Thomas B. Alexander 10

David Crockett: Congressman
Stanley J. Folmsbee and Anna Grace Catron 40

The East Tennessee Campaign and The Battle of Knoxville in 1863
Harold S. Fink 79

The Andrew Johnson Homestead at Greeneville, Tennessee
Ernest Allen Connally 118

Papers From The Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, XXI, January-February, 1793
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt 141

Neill S. Brown and Russian Reaction to American Sympathy For the Hungarian Exiles, 1851-52: Some Documents
Joseph O. Baylen 161

Writings on Tennessee History, 1956
Pollyanna Creekmore 172

Book Notices 179

Notes and News, 1956 183

Directory of Contributors 187

List of Members 188

Index 193

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MISS LAURA E. LUTTRELL

This issue of the *Publications* is dedicated to Miss Laura Elizabeth Luttrell in honor of her many years of service as a loyal and efficient member and officer of the East Tennessee Historical Society; of her invaluable contributions to the collecting and preservation of the sources of Tennessee history and genealogy; and of her own significant writings and the inestimable amount of aid and inspiration she has given to a host of other research students in the field of Tennessee history.

LAURA ELIZABETH LUTTRELL

By MARY U. ROTHROCK

Tonight the Historical Society honors a charter member who has contributed so richly to the preservation and dissemination of history in general and to the advancement of this Society in particular that her biography may well be taken as a case study for a perfect historical society member. I appreciate greatly the opportunity of trying, on behalf of the Society, to place on record the main facts of this biography. The story, like most life stories, falls into three parts—the years of preparation, the years of active employment, and finally that golden period, the years of doing as one pleases.

I

Our subject was born eighty-five years ago at McMillan's on the old Luttrell farm here in Knox County, ten or twelve miles from the city. She was one of eleven children, the daughter of James Madison and Mary Jane Lockhart (McMillan) Luttrell. While she was still an infant the family moved to Strawberry Plains, where she spent her childhood.

James and Mary Luttrell were determined however to give their children the best possible educational advantages; so they came in 1890 to Knoxville. By 1892 the family was established in a newly built home on White Avenue, still occupied by Laura and Ella Luttrell. Incidentally, if James Luttrell had been able to look fifty years into the future, he could not have made a happier selection of his homesite, just across the street from the spot on which a half-century later the University of Tennessee Library was to be built. At the moment the land was occupied by the Woodruff home, but young Laura needed only serenely to fold her hands and wait, for her own was on the way to her. That is one of the advantages of being a Presbyterian.

Shortly after the family's arrival in Knoxville in 1890, Laura graduated from the high school in West Knoxville, and it is of more than passing significance that she chose as the title of her graduating essay "Monuments." Having graduated, it was natural, almost

inevitable, at the time, that she should teach; so for the next twenty years Miss Luttrell taught, first in the county, then in the city, school systems. But she did not find teaching wholly satisfying; she had long wanted to be a librarian, and by 1911 she was ready to do something definite about it. The University of Wisconsin Library School was one of the best, and Laura had a sister living in Madison, a brother-in-law on the University of Wisconsin faculty; so she spent the school year of 1912-13 at the University of Wisconsin Library School.

II

Miss Luttrell's library experience began in Indiana, where she lived from 1913 to 1919. In the summer of 1919 she came back to Knoxville on a visit and with the industry of a librarian on vacation, hot-footed it up Summit Hill to visit Lawson McGhee Library in its then fine, new building.

Meanwhile the private historical library of the late Calvin M. McClung had recently been given to Lawson McGhee Library by Mrs. McClung, who also had provided funds for its cataloging and organization. We were looking desperately for a qualified cataloger, with knowledge of the basic historical materials of the Tennessee region, a person capable of setting up this fine book collection as a permanent, living, growing historical library for Knoxville and Tennessee. There were approximately 4,000 items—books, pamphlets, manuscripts and the like—still in packing boxes, I believe, in the room across the hall from where we meet tonight, when Miss Luttrell made that momentous vacation visit.

She had scarcely got back to her desk in the Gary, Indiana, public library when she received a letter asking her to return to Knoxville to organize and catalog the McClung Collection, and a few weeks later—in November—she reported for duty. Nothing was ever the same after that, historically speaking—or hysterically speaking, as she herself expresses it. Miss Luttrell spent two years organizing the McClung Collection, which included preparing the copy for the printed catalog of the collection, and on June 15, 1921, it was formally opened to the public, with Miss Mary Nelson in charge.

For the next five years Miss Luttrell was employed in the University of Tennessee Library, but in the fall of 1925 she came back to Lawson

McGhee Library, as head of the McClung Collection, where she remained until her retirement in December, 1937.

I shall not dwell on the routine activities which kept her busy during the twelve years that she headed the McClung Room. Let me comment in passing, however, that the extensive use of the collection, under Miss Luttrell's guidance, by professional historians and biographers, genealogists, school and college students, reporters and mere lay people interested in history has always been to me a constant astonishment. Her annual report for 1926-27, for example, recorded 2,799 visitors and students. Now, *why* could she not have found it in her conscience to have counted just one person twice, and made the figure a round 2,800? Consider this partial list of cities from which they came: Asheville, Atlanta, Austin (Texas), Birmingham, Boston, Brooklyn, Berkeley (California), Chicago, Dayton (Ohio), Houston (Texas), Indianapolis, Louisville, Kalamazoo, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Macon (Georgia), New Orleans, New York City, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, Portland (Maine), St. Louis.

But far more important than the daily routine was Miss Luttrell's complete dedication to a larger goal—that of establishing within our particular setting a truly scholarly collection which would be a practical working library for historical students and which would collect, preserve, and make accessible the unwritten and too often unknown history of the Tennessee area. There can be no doubt that over the years her competent and devoted career as an historical librarian have drawn to Knoxville hundreds of students and writers, and at the same time have brought out in dozens of books and periodicals neglected aspects of Tennessee history and biography.

The creation of the McClung Collection and the presence of Laura Luttrell certainly helped to bring the East Tennessee Historical Society into being at an earlier period than otherwise would have been the case. It held its first meetings in the McClung room, and Laura Luttrell was a charter member. She was either acting-secretary or secretary almost continuously from 1924 to 1941. Her contribution to the orderly, systematic, persevering maintenance of its machinery of organization and records has been invaluable.

The Society's *Publications* was launched in 1929. The second issue,

for 1930, contained the first installment of Miss Luttrell's bibliography, "Historical Activities in and Respecting Tennessee, 1923-29." Each annual *Publications* thereafter continued this bibliography, "Writings on Tennessee History," and also a section of Notes and News, all Miss Luttrell's work to 1943, except for occasional assistance provided by the University, Lawson McGhee Library, or the forced labor of some member of the Luttrell family. In the words of Judge Samuel C. Williams, the first editor of the *Publications,* the "Writings" and "News and Notes" were a fine and essential service to Tennessee.

In December, 1937, Miss Luttrell resigned as head of the McClung Collection and was succeeded by Miss Lucile Deaderick whom she had been training assiduously for some eighteen months. Though she had gladly carried the responsibility, and had voluntarily relinquished it, she has always held it in fond memory. "No one will ever appreciate working in the collection as much as I," she wrote in 1941. Her remarkable success in the position is attributable, I think, to her thorough subject mastery and her burning conviction of the worth-whileness of her work. No student ever left the room without a sense of lift and encouragement, and usually he had also some concrete help on his problem.

III

Now came the golden days when she could give all of her time to her beloved historical pursuits, all, that is, except that demanded by her housekeeping responsibilities. Complaining once of being busy, she confided to a correspondent, "I have to keep house—do not like to waste time with such details."

In November, 1941, Miss Luttrell was appointed to the newly reorganized Tennessee Historical Commission under the chairmanship of Judge Williams. He had written her, with his characteristic frankness (September 9, 1941), "Governor Cooper has just appointed me Chairman of the re-formed Tennessee Historical Commission and I am accepting with the understanding that the Commission will become active." A part of this contemplated activity was something Miss Luttrell and the Judge had talked of often before—the revival of a state historical publication. On June 23, 1941, he had written: "I am trying to make use of my notes as far as I can before 'night-fall' but

have to resort to out-of-Tennessee historical vehicles. I wish the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* could be revived." It was in keeping with Judge Williams' forceful leadership that a new historical magazine, the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* appeared in March, 1942, only four months after the reorganization of the Commission. It was characteristic also of Laura Luttrell's dependability that before the year was out she was busily occupied with preparing a comprehensive bibliography of writings on Tennessee counties for publication in the *Quarterly.* The September, 1943, issue carried the first installment, by Miss Luttrell and Miss Pollyanna Creekmore, and the two succeeding numbers completed it. This bibliography was also printed as a separate and proved so useful that it soon went out of print. A new and expanded edition is now about to go to press for publication by the Tennessee Historical Commission. In the spring of 1943 Miss Luttrell presented to the Historical Commission the request of the East Tennessee Historical Society for a grant to assist in financing the *Publications.* Though some commission members questioned the advisability of the appropriation on the ground that it would establish a precedent, the request was granted, and the Society received its first aid from the Commission, a check for $300.00. It was a good precedent which has been continued to the present day.

In May, 1943, the East Tennessee Historical Society was asked by the Commission to assume responsibility for the preparation of a history of Knox County, for publication in 1946 in observance of the sesquicentennial of Tennessee statehood. It seemed obvious that no one person had both the leisure and the subject knowledge to do this—particularly within a three-year time limit. A collaborative plan involving a group of writers offered the only solution. So the Knox County History Committee was formed to plan and produce the volume. Committee meetings were held in the McClung Room, and Miss Luttrell of course was a member. She was entirely responsible for the biographical section of *The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee,* which was published in 1946. Indeed, her contribution constitutes more than a third of the text and doubtless is the most constantly used part of the book. Here again, she was a dependable. Perhaps I was privileged to see, more than other members of the History Committee, the meticulous accuracy, the skillful handling of details,

the infinite perseverance, and the enormous labor which Miss Luttrell poured into this section. I am sure all the other collaborators will agree with this estimate of Miss Luttrell's major contribution to *The French Broad-Holston Country.*

When it was agreed by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Bonny Kate Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, to erect a marker upon the site of David Henley's office where the first Tennessee Constitutional Convention assembled in Knoxville, Miss Luttrell's careful research determined the location. The tablet was placed upon the Knaffl Building on the corner of Gay Street and Church Avenue, February, 1947.

One of Miss Luttrell's long-time ambitions was realized in 1949, when she brought out the *United States Census, 1850, for Knox County, Tennessee.* Copied from the originals in the Bureau of the Census, arranged and indexed, it is filled with vital source material for Knox County and Tennessee history and genealogy.

She has explored the byways as well as the highways of Tennessee history. Among subjects of special, lifelong, interest have been the Civil War bridge-burners of East Tennessee, Radford Gatlin of Gatlinburg, the academies of Knox County and Jefferson County, and the Knox County site of the Bull Run blockhouse.

I shall not attempt to mention all the historical articles which Miss Luttrell has written. It is enough to say that there is no aspect of Tennessee history to which she is indifferent and that somewhere near the heart of most historical writings in or about Tennessee her quiet, persevering influence has been at work.

No, life was never the same again after Laura Luttrell came back to Knoxville. Before, no college course in Tennessee history was being taught anywhere in the state; there was no collection of Tennesseana—other than in the State Library—adequate to support such a course. No Tennessee historical periodical was being published, no historical society was currently active. Few articles, and fewer books, in the field of Tennessee history were being produced, and only the slenderest of research facilities were within reach of Tennessee historians and students of history.

In the subsequent years these conditions have changed amazingly.

Laura Luttrell would be the first to deny that she alone has brought about the better days which we enjoy. But we who have known her over the years as historical librarian, bibliographer, historian, and historical society officer and member—we would say that her influence thus far has been great, beyond computing. And we would say to her that the first eighty-five years are the hardest; they entitle us to look forward with happy confidence to her future activities.

IS CIVIL WAR HISTORY POLARIZED?— A QUESTION SUGGESTED BY THE CAREER OF THOMAS A. R. NELSON*

By THOMAS B. ALEXANDER

One of the principal problems encountered in the study of Thomas A. R. Nelson's political career was his apparent vacillation during the Civil War. The accepted leader of Whiggery in East Tennessee, Nelson naturally approached the sectional crisis an earnest compromiser and firm Unionist. Furthermore, few men prided themselves more on the score of political consistency. Thus, when Nelson's intense Unionism gave way to neutralism and finally to abandonment of Unionism entirely, because of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, this sequence of attitudes offered an obvious problem in interpretation—a problem further complicated by his reviving Unionism and his ultimately welcoming Federal troops as liberators. After this experience of apparently shifting allegiance he published the following:

> A period of civil war is not favorable, either to free discussion or calm deliberation; but, hoping that the terrible contest in which we are engaged must soon terminate in complete triumph, I will, should it become necessary, at a proper time and under proper circumstances, vindicate my political conduct and opinions and show that my record is as consistent as that of any public man in the state.[1]

This riddle provoked the question which serves as the title of this address; and a study of the Civil War careers of some of the other Old Line Whigs whose views paralleled Nelson's suggested a solution.[2]

The definitiveness of war tends to foster the fallacy of perfect polarization, and the middle groups finding comfort in neither camp seldom are seen in clear focus. They are all too often measured in terms of their relation to one extreme or the other rather than studied as an independent entity. Such has been the fate of a substantial portion of Americans of Old Line Whig background who might be identified by the label voluntarily accepted by most of them—Constitutional Union

*An address delivered at the annual fall reception of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Knoxville, October 6, 1956.

[1] Thomas B. Alexander, *Thomas A. R. Nelson of East Tennessee* (Nashville, 1956), 117.

[2] Data concerning the men whose Civil War careers are examined in this address was gathered as a part of a more general study assisted by a research fellowship of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

men. In searching for historical treatments of those who were neither unconditional Unionists nor proponents of Southern Independence at any cost, one often encounters such terms as copperhead and conspiracy, disloyalty and disaffection, defeatism and desertion. But where are the studies of conservatism and constitutionalism at the nation's capital, or of consistency in the Confederacy? Somehow the thesis seems always postulated that Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis represented consistent and diametrically opposed positions while all who did not go down the line with one of them were guilty of inconsistency, turncoatism, lack of constancy, or even disloyalty. But if the Constitutional Union position is employed as a point of vantage, it is just as easy to see Jefferson Davis or Abraham Lincoln as, in a sense, inconsistent and even disloyal.

Currently the weight of historical assessment has assigned a glorious role to the compromisers of 1860-61 who would have saved the nation its bitterest agony. Of the Constitutional Union men of 1860, the late Professor James G. Randall wrote: "If any body of men ever felt that they had a vitally important task to perform in other than partisan terms, it was these men; if any group saw clearly the coming effect of disruptive tendencies in 1860 and, seeing, hoped and endeavored to do something about it before it was too late, it was they."[3] And Professor Avery Craven wrote of the other side of the same coin: "Those who force the settlement of human problems by war can expect only an unsympathetic hearing from the future. Mere desire to do 'right' is no defense at the bar of history."[4]

Again, after Appomattox, these same Constitutional Unionists won accolade from later historians by defending the Constitution during its ordeal under Radical reconstruction. But though generally acknowledged to have been right in their positions before the firing on Sumter, and equally right in resisting the postwar efforts of Radicals to scrap the Constitution, they have generally been ignored or discredited as obstructionists during the war years when, as one of them put it, the seeds of radicalism were sown deep by remorselessly sacrificing the most reverend and sacred things to transient success and trivial objects.[5]

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[3] James G. Randall, *Lincoln, the President: Springfield to Gettysburg,* 2 vols. (New York, 1945), I, 143.

[4] Avery O. Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), 118.

[5] Edward Bates to Anna E. Carroll, November 5, 1864, in Anna Ella Carroll Papers (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

Praise for opposing the plowing in the fields of antebellum sectional discord, and praise for trying to suppress the postwar poisonous crop, but none for resisting the sowing of the seeds?

Since the limits of a single address preclude the consideration of both northern and southern Constitutional Unionists, let us direct our attention exclusively northward. And instead of viewing them merely as silhouettes against the radiance of Lincoln's halo, let us for a change ask Lincoln to step into the wings and allow the Constitutional Unionists front-and-center stage for a few minutes.

Six men are asked to come forward as representative of the northern Constitutional Union positions during the Civil War. Millard Fillmore, of New York, after the death of John Tyler during the first year of the war, was the only living Whig who had been President. William W. Seaton had for more than a half century edited the Washington *National Intelligencer,* the Whig "bible." If a man, ran an old saying, were found dead with a copy of the *National Intelligencer* in his pocket, though otherwise unknown, he might be counted to be a Whig and a gentleman.[6] One of Lincoln's cabinet wrote in 1864: "I have read the Intelligencer . . . for more than fifty years and can say with a clean conscience, that I have derived from its columns more sound, constitutional law and upright statesmanship, than from any other single source—I had almost said, all other sources, put together."[7]

Edward Bates, of St. Louis, whose national prestige far outstripped the significance of his political offices, had held various state and Federal legal and legislative positions and had declined appointment as secretary of war in President Fillmore's cabinet. He had presided at the last convention ever held by the Whig party, that of 1856; and in 1860 he probably could have had the Constitutional Union party presidential nomination had he not decided that a third party would only aid the Democrats.[8] As it was, although never a member of the Republican party, before or after 1860, he was so strongly supported for the nomination at Chicago that Lincoln's backers considered that their chief maneuver must be to stop Bates.[9] He became attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet.

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[6] Armistead C. Gordon, *William Fitzhugh Gordon* (New York, 1909), 357.
[7] Edward Bates to Anna E. Carroll, November 5, 1864, in Carroll Papers.
[8] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 679.
[9] Randall, *Lincoln, the President: Springfield to Gettysburg,* I, 159.

John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, upon whom the mantle of Henry Clay had fallen, was by 1860 coming to the close of a long career as governor, United States senator, and attorney general under two Whig presidents.[10] Only his age and his absolute refusal to be considered prevented his nomination for the presidency by the Constitutional Union party national convention in 1860.[11]

Robert Charles Winthrop, of Boston, had served as member and speaker of both the Massachusetts house and national House of Representatives—and he had succeeded Daniel Webster in the United States Senate. After serving as Whig presidential elector in 1852, he had retired from politics to pursue a distinguished career in literature and history.[12]

Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, foster father and father-in-law of General William T. Sherman, had twice served in the United States Senate and in the cabinets of both President Harrison and President Taylor. His reputation as a statesman was towering in Ohio and throughout much of the West.[13]

Each of the six had distinguished himself as a leader of the Whig party, and none had before the war any sympathy with the Democratic party. To illustrate the Constitutional Union positions through the war years, these men will be examined with regard to their reactions to: sectional animosity on the eve of the election of 1860; the candidates and issues in 1860; compromise efforts after the election of Lincoln; first war measures; the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus;* the Missouri emancipation proclamation issued by General John C. Fremont; Lincoln's emancipation policy; efforts by radicals to dominate Lincoln's administration; plans for reconstruction; the election of 1864; and Lincoln's assassination. And, where pertinent, the views of Thomas A. R. Nelson will be compared with those of these other Constitutional Unionists.

Fillmore, upon retiring from the presidency, had set for himself a rigid rule of not appearing in public or in print on matters political. In the furor following John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, a Union meeting in New York City evoked from him a public letter in which

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10 *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927,* 861.
11 Joseph Howard Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge, 1950), 349.
12 *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927,* 1720.
13 *Ibid.,* 954.

he said: "What the Constitution gives I would concede at every sacrifice. I would not seek to enjoy its benefits without sharing its burthens and its responsibilities." Lamenting that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had been so fruitful of evil, and tracing the tragedy at Harper's Ferry to the Kansas difficulty, he said of John Brown that his fanatical zeal had blinded his moral perceptions. In concluding this letter, he urged the South to believe that very few northerners would justify in any manner an attack upon the institutions of the South which were guaranteed in the Constitution. "We are all anti-Slavery in sentiment," he added, "but we know that we have nothing to do with it in the several states. . . ." And he pleaded with the North to respect the rights of the South and to assure southerners that northerners regarded them as friends and brothers.[14]

Prior to the election of 1860, Winthrop also was becoming alarmed at the drift of sectional events. In a public letter declining to become a Republican, he referred to the past policies of the Whig party and said that northern Whigs deplored the existence of slavery and would omit no legal effort to prevent its extension while refraining from all unconstitutional and illegal interferences. He could see no reason for abandoning the broad-based Whig party to join a one-idea party to promote some grand result in human liberty. "I am one of those who believe that the ultraism and recklessness of some of these old Free-Soil leaders . . . have been the occasion of not a few of those very aggressions which they are so vociferous in condemning, and are destined to be the occasion of still new ones, if they are to be encouraged and strengthened in their fanatical career."[15] Winthrop was particularly aroused regarding the Boston meeting at which John Brown was compared to Christ, and he protested against giving seeming sanction of the people of Massachusetts to sentiments so "impious and abominable." In the election of 1860 he intended giving a vote that would say: "That man of blood, and treason, and massacre, was not right."[16]

As the election of 1860 approached, Crittenden was at the heart of the formation of the Constitutional Union party, corresponding about

[14] Frank H. Severance (ed.), *Millard Fillmore Papers,* 2 vols. (Buffalo, 1907), II, 375-78.

[15] Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston, 1897), 172-79.

[16] Robert C. Winthrop, *Addresses and Speeches from 1852 to 1867* (Boston, 1867), 501. Hereinafter cited as Winthrop, *Addresses.*

its address to the people through the early months of 1860 and acting as temporary chairman of its national convention.[17] Seaton and his *National Intelligencer* supported the nominees of that convention, John Bell and Edward Everett, noting that it involved abandoning no Whig principle.[18]

Winthrop returned from Europe in time to make one major address in favor of the Constitutional Union party candidates, stressing that he stood on the same principles as always and saying that

> a four years' truce to all these dismal and dreary and wholly abstract disputes and bickerings . . . would do more to restore and advance just views of the Constitution, and just views of freedom, and just views of slavery too, than all the harangues and philippics which have been composed and uttered since the days of Demosthenes and Cicero.[19]

Privately he thought Lincoln likely to be elected and expressed fear that it would cause more mischief than anybody could manage. He did believe Lincoln to be at heart a moderate man and thought that if southerners would keep their tempers things might go well. "The danger is," he wrote, "that, in the first flush of such an election, madness might rule the hour."[20]

Fillmore tried hard to keep out of the public eye during the early months of the election, although he privately expressed approval of the Constitutional Union party movement.[21] In June of 1860 he did allow his home-town paper to quote him as saying that rumors of his support of Lincoln were false; and the editor further commented that if Fillmore had any preferences they were for the Constitutional Union candidates.[22] Late in the canvass he resisted only with difficulty the temptation to accept an invitation to speak in Baltimore for Bell and Everett, writing that he was with his friends in Baltimore "heart and soul, hoping for the best yet fearing the worst." "But come what may," he concluded, "I am for the Union and for the whole Country, against all sectionalism, and sectional candidates."[23]

Thomas Ewing preferred Bell and the Constitutional Union platform, but he thought that the election in Ohio was squarely between

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[17] John J. Crittenden to John Pendleton Kennedy, January 24, 31, February 8, 9, 28, 1860, in John Pendleton Kennedy Papers (Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore).
[18] Parks, *John Bell,* 357.
[19] Winthrop, *Addresses,* 499.
[20] Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop,* 212-13.
[21] Severance (ed.), *Fillmore Papers,* II, 378-79.
[22] *Ibid.,* iii.
[23] Fillmore to John P. Kennedy, October 30, 1860, in Kennedy Papers.

Stephen A. Douglas, the northern Democratic nominee, and Abraham Lincoln. Ewing had been too conservative to support the Republicans in 1856, and he had apparently held some hope for revival of the Whig party as late as 1859, but in 1860 he felt driven to choose between Douglas and Lincoln. He considered the Republican party as veering away from its radical origin and emphasis on abolition. With its tariff platform plank and Lincoln as its candidate, he hoped it could rally conservative strength in the North. In September he made a Lincoln address, saying that he had not approved Republican actions but that he thought a reaction had come. "Conservative men, law-loving and law-abiding men" now controlled the party; and the Chicago convention had rejected the higher law doctrine and adopted the old Whig principle of tariff protection for industry. So, recommending that the Republicans drop their anti-slavery principles and keep the rest, he advised support of Lincoln.[24]

Only Edward Bates, among the six, gave no support to the Constitutional Union movement, even privately. He considered that the combined American party and Whig party achievement in 1856—one state for Fillmore—had proved the folly of third party movements. He could not see that the Constitutional Union party had any more hope of success. It was not that he was less conservative, but that he preferred trying to influence one of the major parties. His long-standing opponents, the Democrats, he held beyond redemption. He arraigned them for lack of protection to industry, inadequate attention to internal improvements, dangerous expansionism, too aggressive an interest in slave power, degradation of the legislative and judicial branches of the government for the aggrandisement of the presidency, and generally abusing power—charges the Whigs had been leveling against the Democrats for twenty years. He preferred the Republican party because its leading men held opinions the exact opposite of the Democrats. In the hope of aiding the conservative Republicans to seize firm control of the party from the radical wing, Bates allowed his name to be used in a presidential effort before the Chicago convention. He received considerable support from Republicans who hoped to soften the tone of the party without sacrificing the principle of free territories—and to

[24] Paul Ingersoll Miller, "Thomas Ewing, Last of the Whigs" (Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 1933), 247-49, 258ff.

attract border-state Whigs to the Republican standard. Bates, a border-state Whig who believed that Congress was supreme in the territories and ought not to extend slavery any further, was ideal for this purpose —except for the embarrassing fact that he was not a Republican and would not call himself one. After Lincoln's nomination, Bates refused all entreaties to campaign for Lincoln in Illinois because he did not belong to the party and did not approve the wording of the Republican platform plank relating to slavery in the territories. On June 11, however, he did write a public letter favoring the election of Lincoln. Dismissing the platform as of little importance, gently stabbing the Constitutional Union ticket by saying that the fine men on it could do nothing but create a division in favor of the Democrats, he stressed what he considered the safeness of Lincoln. Lincoln, he said, had good old Whig antecedents and in the matter of slavery had not gone beyond the great lights of the Whig party, Clay and Webster. Bates maintained that Lincoln's views on slavery were the same as his own: that slavery in the states was beyond the control of Congress; that Congress might allow or forbid slavery in the territories; that Congress ought not to plant slavery in any free territory; and that it was unwise for the United States to acquire tropical regions for the mere purpose of converting them into slave states.[25]

Nelson, during the last years of the sectional controversy, occupied much the same position as the six men under study. He repeatedly urged moderation upon both extreme groups and even risked his election to Congress in 1859 by agreeing publicly that he would support a coalition of southern Whigs and northern Republicans should such a coalition nominate John Bell of Tennessee for the presidency in 1860—providing that the Republicans drop their abolition tendencies. In his first floor appearance in Congress, Nelson distinguished himself immediately as an able advocate of moderation and Unionism; and the publicity he gained resulted in his being invited to deliver a Union address in Philadelphia on January 16, 1860. He attended the national convention of the Constitutional Union party and became a member of

[25] *Letter of Hon. Edward Bates of Missouri, Endorsing Mr. Lincoln, and Giving His Reasons for Supporting the Chicago Nominees* (n.p., n.d.). Bates's refusal to speak for Lincoln is mentioned in Maurice Glen Baxter, "Orville H. Browning: Conservative in American Politics" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1948), 107-08.

that party's national executive committee. During the presidential campaign he canvassed throughout East Tennessee for Bell.[26]

After the election of Lincoln had precipitated the secession crisis, Crittenden's name soon became synonymous with compromise. His central idea of reviving the Missouri Compromise line and embodying it in an unrepealable constitutional amendment, supplemented by other recommendations, became the most discussed plan of compromise; and he became chairman of the Senate Committee of Thirteen appointed to recommend measures to meet the crisis.

Fillmore declined the invitation extended him by a Union meeting to be one of three commissioners to go south to explain northern sentiment. What the South wanted, he stressed, was some assurance from the Republican party that they, or at least the conservative portion of them, were ready and willing to come forward and repeal the unconstitutional state personal liberty laws, live up to the compromises in the Constitution, execute the laws honestly, and treat their southern brethren as friends. He thought that for the present, labors of conservative men should be at home in the effort to put their own states right.[27] The former President blamed both sections for the crisis, but made it plain that he thought secession suicidal and unjustifiable. "I have great confidence in President Lincoln's conservatism, integrity and patriotism," he wrote in January, "and could this unfortunate *rebellion* have been delayed for 6 months after his inauguration, I think it would have been morally impossible. But I greatly fear that all is lost!"[28]

Soon after the election Winthrop was corresponding about the repeal of the Massachusetts personal liberty law, a type of law which many southerners denounced as simply a camouflage for violations of the fugitive slave law embodied in the Compromise of 1850.[29] Winthrop made efforts to get some leading Republicans to participate in compromise demonstrations—which he considered better than all that could be done by Conservatives.[30] Writing to a border-state friend, he expressed the conviction that the only salvation of the Union lay in action by the border states. Maryland and Virginia must be the umpires, he continued, calling in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to their aid. He thought

[26] Alexander, *Nelson*, 54-68.
[27] Severance (ed.), *Fillmore Papers*, II, 390-91.
[28] *Ibid.*, 392-93.
[29] Robert C. Winthrop to John P. Kennedy, December 8, 1860, in Kennedy Papers.
[30] *Id.* to *id.*, December 22, 1860, in *ibid.*

that the Conservatives farther north could not risk pressing the Republicans too hard, but that they might be able to win approval of an arrangement made by a nucleus of middle states.[31]

In promising Crittenden support of his compromise resolutions, Winthrop suggested that the North might be softened if prohibition of foreign slave trade were incorporated in the Constitution.[32] And to another Conservative he wrote that he wished Crittenden's resolutions had included a provision against acquisition of new slave territory—to quiet a fear that he believed was the principal reason for northern opposition.[33] Above all he prayed for time for public sentiment to be manifested. As prospects of failure in congressional efforts at compromise loomed, he wrote that perhaps an acceptable program could be proposed by a sort of political supreme court, a small group of elder statesmen from all parties, meeting behind closed doors with no reporters and no speeches.[34] At the end of January, Winthrop and Edward Everett went to Washington heading a delegation to present a petition for compromise signed by nearly fifteen thousand Boston voters. Winthrop talked with many leading men and returned to Boston discouraged but still working for compromise.[35] Asking for conciliation and forbearance on all sides, he thought that all must see that the Union could not be saved by force—that there was no cementing element in fraternal blood.[36] When the Washington Peace Convention met in February, he wrote its president, John Tyler, that he found it hard to hope for much but that he saw so many great names on the roster that he could not despair of its accomplishing something for the Union.[37]

Shortly before Lincoln was inaugurated, Winthrop, in a public letter, said:

> If we can do little to strengthen the arm of authority at a moment like this, let us be careful to do nothing to weaken it by any poor partisan opposition. . . . Let us hope that [Lincoln] will take counsel of moderate and forbearing men,—of men of more than one idea; of men who will prefer a united country to a united party; of men who had rather be

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[31] *Id.* to *id.*, December 27, 1860, in *ibid.*
[32] *Id.* to John J. Crittenden, December 24, 1860, in John J. Crittenden Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).
[33] *Id.* to John P. Kennedy, January 5, 1861, in Kennedy Papers.
[34] *Id.* to *id.*, January 7, 1861, in *ibid.*
[35] Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 213-15.
[36] Winthrop, *Addresses*, 700-02.
[37] Robert C. Winthrop to John Tyler, February 12, 1861, in John Tyler Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

found inconsistent with themselves than inconsistent with the safety of the Republic.[38]

Thomas Ewing worked diligently for compromise in Ohio and at the Washington Peace Convention, where he wrote the first article in the proposals of that body—the one containing the essence of the Crittenden compromise. He made one extended speech, trying to get the Republicans to take a more moderate position, pleading for the abatement of emotional abolitionism and for equal sectional sharing of the territories.[39]

W. W. Seaton and his associate editor, James C. Welling, filled many columns of the *National Intelligencer* with peace efforts between Lincoln's election and the firing on Fort Sumter. Repeatedly stressing that maintenance of peace was indispensable to saving the Union and Constitution, the *Intelligencer* urged caution and forbearance on the part of the federal government. It was suggested that Congress repeal all laws that could not be enforced in the seceding areas so that the President would have no responsibility to provoke resistance.[40]

On January 12 the *Intelligencer* presented its proposition for compromise. Included in the heart of the long plan were the ideas of amending the Constitution to guarantee all aspects of slavery where it then existed; organizing all the remainder of the territory of the United States into two states, one north of 36° 30′ and the other south of that line, and thereby ending the existence of territories entirely; and prohibiting the acquisition of any new territory without a two-thirds approval in Congress, thus giving each section a veto.[41]

While the editor did not believe that any right of secession existed, he also argued that coercion, even if a right, was no remedy—that the vital spark could not be reanimated by the shock of arms. He felt that coercion would only make the breach more incurable; and that, even if it could succeed, the coerced retention of an unwilling state would create a legal and constitutional anomaly greater than that it sought to remove.[42] The paper tried hard to spread the idea that the incoming administration was essentially conservative.

Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities the *Intelligencer* carried

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[38] Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop,* 215-16.
[39] Miller, "Thomas Ewing, Last of the Whigs," 267-68.
[40] Washington *National Intelligencer,* January 9, 1861.
[41] *Ibid.,* January 12, 1861.
[42] *Ibid.,* January 25, 1861.

a six and one-half column editorial in which calm reference was made to the possibility of permanent separation. He would advocate the policy of recognition of the seceded states by the United States government, announced the editor, if the coming year showed that they were determined to stay out.[43] But the editor privately believed a peaceful year would end the secession fever.

Nelson returned to Congress after Lincoln's election determined to make whatever contribution he could to compromise. He was appointed as Tennessee's member of the House Committee of Thirty-three to recommend measures of reconciliation, and after proposing his own measures he fell in behind the Crittenden resolutions. During the floor debates on compromise he made a major address pleading for salvation of the Union. "What malign influence trammels us," he asked, "that we cannot reach an adjustment in a spirit of conciliation and concession in which the Government was created?" His answer was: "the one is pride of opinion, and the other is party spirit." After extended discussion of the growing dangers resulting from the delay of compromise, he concluded:

> It has been said, "agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him." If we are governed by this salutary rule, all domestic difficulties will soon pass away from our country, peace will again smile in all our borders, and we will once more enjoy those privileges with which we have so long been blessed, far above every other people.[44]

The culmination of Lincoln's Fort Sumter policy and his call for troops, however at variance with advice from Conservatives, presented the latter with little choice but to look ahead for the least dangerous course through the maelstrom they would have avoided.

Edward Bates, from his vantage point within Lincoln's cabinet, advised strangling the Confederacy by blockade rather than launching a land assault. "I think it would be wise and humane, on our part," he wrote, "so to conduct the war as to give the least occasion for social and servile war, in the extreme Southern States, and to disturb as little as possible the accustomed occupations of the people." He hoped that his plan might save the Union without shedding a drop of blood.[45]

Fillmore presided at a Union rally in Buffalo and spoke on the

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[43] *Ibid.*, March 21, 1861.

[44] Nelson's address is in the *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Appendix, 106-11.

[45] Howard K. Beale (ed.), *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), 182-85.

idea that war was inaugurated and had to be met, that the Constitution was in danger and had to be defended. It was no time to inquire whose fault or folly had brought it on. He had hoped, he said, that peace could be maintained until the South became convinced that Lincoln was safe. Or, if that were impossible, that time might be gained for a national convention to amend the Constitution so as to enable peaceable separation. "But," he concluded, "if they commence an aggressive warfare, we have no alternative but to rally around the constituted authorities and defend the Government."[46]

Winthrop now took the position that while secession was unconstitutional, the right of revolution certainly existed and the southern people were fully entitled to risk exercising that right if they chose. He considered them profoundly mistaken in thinking that such a step would be advantageous even if successful, and he assumed that they recognized that unsuccessful revolution involved punishment. He believed it clearly the duty of the President to try to vindicate Federal authority, and both the duty and in the interests of the northern people to support him energetically.[47]

Thomas Ewing resigned himself to bloodshed and advised Crittenden that any further effort at compromise would not be timely. "There can be no truce or compromise," he wrote, "till the opposites have met in force and measured strength. And the sooner this comes the better."[48]

Crittenden's hope for peace died hard. Even after Sumter he considered for a time a neutral position for Kentucky. When that failed to materialize he accepted a seat in the House of Representatives, his Senate term having expired, and promptly took the lead in stating the object of the war as not one of conquest or subjugation or for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the established institutions of the seceding states, but a war to maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union with all the rights of the states unimpaired. In July, 1861, resolutions carrying these ideas passed the House with only two negative votes and the Senate with only five.[49]

Seaton also accepted the idea of war only with difficulty. After

[46] Severance (ed.), *Fillmore Papers,* II, 62-63.
[47] Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop,* 219-20.
[48] Thomas Ewing to John J. Crittenden, June 25, 1861, in John J. Crittenden Papers (Duke University Library, Durham).
[49] *Congressional Globe,* 37 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 222-23, 265.

Lincoln's call for troops the *Intelligencer* reprinted an earlier editorial urging a national convention to arrange a final settlement.[50] It would appear that at this point the editor still preferred a peaceful separation to a coerced union if even a regular constitutional convention could not offer acceptable arrangements to preserve the Union voluntarily. By May, however, Seaton revealed a subtle change of attitude. He sustained his consistency by referring to the fact that his March editorial advocating peaceful separation if absolutely necessary had contained the significant proviso that this position rested on the assumption that neither side was going to disturb the peace while the final efforts at settlement were in progress. But the net effect of his May 7 editorial was that the South bore the blame for exchanging the arts of peace for the resorts of war.[51] Seaton still maintained that the troops Lincoln had called out could legally be used only to suppress overt acts of opposition to the laws and not against parties to any mere paper declaration of disloyalty.[52]

After Lincoln's call for troops, Nelson's hands were full opposing the effort to take Tennessee out of the Union. He joined forces with his old Democratic opponent, Andrew Johnson, and together they conducted an exhaustive campaign for the Union in East Tennessee. Because the majority of East Tennessee voters were Whigs, Nelson was probably the single most important leader in the successful move to hold that section of the state loyal to the Union. But Johnson's task was more difficult in that he had to appeal to his East Tennessee Democratic followers against the weight of their best-known party leaders throughout the rest of the state and the South. Nelson served as president of the East Tennessee Convention and would have risked a species of revolution to keep East Tennessee out of Confederate hands had the majority of that convention been willing to follow him. But when Confederate troops peacefully took control of the railroad through East Tennessee and garrisoned key points, Nelson concluded that the time for possible revolution had passed. He did politically defy Confederate authority by successfully seeking a seat in the United States House of Representatives—and this in an election held for the Confederate Congress. His attempt to slip through to Washington failed,

[50] *National Intelligencer,* April 16, 1861.
[51] *Ibid.,* May 7, 1861.
[52] *Ibid.,* May 24, 1861.

however, and he was taken to Richmond as a captive. Reaching the conclusion that the Confederacy was a *de facto* government after the first battle of Bull Run, he accepted paroled status and returned home to inaction.[53]

Lincoln's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus,* considered by many Conservatives as the first step out of the narrow path of constitutionalism, was treated very cautiously by the *Intelligencer,* which maintained that it was a dangerous step, possibly justified when Congress was not in session.[54] By July, the position of the *Intelligencer* had come to support all-out military effort against the South. The editor seemed to feel that since war was inevitable it should be prosecuted with the greatest vigor to give a quick test to the proposition that force could restore national integrity—a proposition that Seaton apparently still doubted—so that if force failed it could soon be supplanted by a negotiated peace of separation.[55] Whatever the original intent in supporting the military effort, the *Intelligencer* subsequently gave hearty support to Lincoln's efforts to suppress the southern independence movement.

Bates, as Lincoln's attorney general, wrote an extended opinion defending the right of the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus.*[56]

Nelson from his East Tennessee seclusion observed this step with misgivings and felt that Lincoln was destroying an essential right of the citizen. He feared that Lincoln's actions in this and other matters of questionable constitutionality might pervert the objects of the war from the preservation of the Constitution to its destruction. He ventured no overt statement at this stage, however.[57]

But now the radical tug of war with the Conservatives for control of the administration and the war policy came into the open with General John C. Fremont's emancipation proclamation for Missouri, issued on August 30, 1861. To the relief of the Conservatives, and to the indignation of the radicals, Lincoln overruled Fremont and forced the rescinding of the order, thus turning back this first radical sortie.

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[53] Alexander, *Nelson,* 75-95.
[54] *National Intelligencer,* May 30, June 22, 1861.
[55] *Ibid.,* July 6, 1861.
[56] For Bates's private comment on his official opinion, see Edward Bates to H. R. Gamble, July 16, 1861, in Hamilton R. Gamble Papers (Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri).
[57] Alexander, *Nelson,* 96-97.

Winthrop at this point made his first public utterance about the war, recognizing the rights of the South as well as of the North, and wrote that he hoped his words would be a counterbalance against some of the subjugation and emancipation doctrines of the Massachusetts radicals. The President's order modifying Fremont's emancipation proclamation seemed to him one of the most auspicious events of the time.[58] Later in the year Winthrop had a conference with Lincoln in which the President read a letter he had written vindicating his overruling of Fremont. When Winthrop expressed approbation of its tone, Lincoln remarked: "There is a good deal of old Whig left in me yet."[59]

Bates urged Lincoln to recall Fremont for this and other actions. When Lincoln did not do so, Bates wrote that he was distressed and mortified, deceived and disappointed.[60] An *Intelligencer* editorial said that no special inviolability was claimed for slave property and that advancing armies would naturally seize any rebel property, including slaves. But editor Seaton was opposed to any change in the objects of the war from those stated in the Crittenden resolutions.[61] Ewing wrote his son that he considered Fremont's proclamation very wrong—unsupported by law and equally wrong in policy. If the President had not corrected it at once, it would have lost Kentucky to the Union and the war would have been on the banks of the Ohio. The Union men who would have been left after placing the war upon that basis, he insisted, could not have maintained themselves for a month against the overwhelming tide of secession which it would have forced in upon them.[62]

Despite some misgivings over *habeas corpus* the Conservative Unionists were not dissatisfied with Lincoln at the end of 1861. His message to Congress in December met general Conservative approval, his recognition of the race problem underlying the slavery issue receiving particular acclaim.[63] Lincoln's strenuous efforts to provide adequate colonization plans for the free Negroes, pursued consistently through

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[58] Robert C. Winthrop to John P. Kennedy, August 16, 1861, in Kennedy Papers.
[59] Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 222.
[60] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates*, 198-99; Edward Bates to James O. Broadhead, September 28, 1861, in James Overton Broadhead Papers (Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis).
[61] *National Intelligencer*, September 28, 1861.
[62] Thomas Ewing to Hugh Ewing, November 2, 1861, copy in Thomas Ewing Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).
[63] *National Intelligencer*, December 3, 5, 1861.

the war, were accepted as an earnest of his conservatism on the race question.[64] But if the President seemed still relatively safe, the same could not be said for Congress; and Crittenden found many occasions to protest against the use of wrong means in seeking to achieve good ends. He opposed the confiscation bill as unconstitutional, fought to protect the executive branch from unconstitutional encroachments by Congress, denounced the unconstitutional dismemberment of Virginia, and delivered a tirade against employment of slaves as soldiers.[65] The *Intelligencer* commented that his speech against the confiscation bill was like a shield of silver, thick set with golden stars.[66]

The year 1862 was critical in the struggle of the Constitutional Unionists, for they were thrown on the defensive by a dangerous combination of abolitionism and purposeful vindictiveness and thereafter found themselves engaged in the seemingly hopeless task of bolstering a dike that was forever springing new leaks. Bates wrote in March that he had warned Lincoln that extreme men in Congress were lying in wait against him and that his only safe course was to stand firm on his slavery position and not yield an inch either to the fierce rush of northern abolitionists or the timid doubters of the border states.[67] Winthrop expressed shame that his old political ally, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, had spoken in favor of an emancipation amendment to the Constitution.[68] Winthrop spoke in late May to the effect that the terrible spirit of rebellion must be assuaged or exorcised in the South; and that, if there was any spirit of mere vengeance or injustice of any sort growing up among northerners, it too must be checked. The words of the great Apostle, he said, were as applicable as when first addressed to the Romans: "Be not overcome of evil; but overcome evil with good."[69] The next day he addressed the Massachusetts Colonization Society, rejoicing that such a society was in existence to act as a great emigrant aid society for freedmen. Disclaiming advocacy of any wholesale projects of emancipation, whether under color of confiscation or upon any pretense of the imaginary necessities of martial law, as calculated only to protract and aggravate the war, he still noted that a vast number of

[64] Randall, *Lincoln, the President: Springfield to Gettysburg*, II, 137ff.
[65] Ann Mary Butler Coleman, *The Life of John J. Crittenden with Selections from His Correspondence and Speeches*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1871), 344-55.
[66] *National Intelligencer*, April 24, 1862.
[67] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates*, 241.
[68] Robert C. Winthrop to John P. Kennedy, April 7, 1862, in Kennedy Papers.
[69] Winthrop, *Addresses*, 524.

Africans would be thrown upon the government by unavoidable contingencies. And the simple question, he said, was whether those willing should be returned to the old, original, and only true home of the African race or left to a wretched existence.[70]

In mid-July Lincoln presented his plan of compensated emancipation and colonization to the border-state congressmen. The *Intelligencer* announced its hope that the plan would be tried, but the border-states men were generally of the opinion it would not be accepted.[71] Meanwhile Bates was making notes on the proper terms of treaties to be made with the tropical American nations regarding refuge for free Negroes, stressing that the more treaties and the more inducements to emigration the better.[72]

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln staggered the Conservative Unionists with the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which he made final on January 1, 1863. Crittenden, of course, considered it a perverting of the war aims. Bates, who had known of the coming proclamation from secret cabinet meetings, kept his counsel temporarily. Thomas Ewing poured out his anguish in a letter to Secretary of State William H. Seward, saying that the country was suffering great evil from the proclamation. He contrasted the unity he observed before the proclamation with the harsh division among the people afterward. "Nearly all the Union Democrats and a very large number of Republicans deserted us," he wrote. The effect in the fall congressional elections was a drop from a 7,000 Republican majority to a 15,000 Democratic majority in Ohio. But the worst result, he thought, was that men who really did not want to save the Union now rushed to take the lead before the people with devastating effect—arguing that the sons and brothers of the listeners had volunteered to save the Constitution, not to fight in a perverted crusade against slavery. "From secession & anarchy," Ewing maintained, "nothing can now in my opinion save us but the prompt, gracious, & unconditional withdrawal of the proclamation. . . . A few weeks more and neither wisdom in council nor valor in the field can save us."[73]

The editor of the *Intelligencer,* with characteristic caution, waited

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[70] *Ibid.,* 526ff.
[71] *National Intelligencer,* July 17, August 7, 1862.
[72] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates,* 263-64.
[73] Thomas Ewing to William H. Seward, January 13, 1863, in William Henry Seward Papers (University of Rochester Library, Rochester, New York).

almost three weeks to publish his complete analysis of the proclamation. He did comment briefly that he expected no good to come from it and hoped that no harm would.[74] And on another day he drew the conclusion from Lincoln's address to the border-state congressmen pleading for their support for voluntary emancipation that Lincoln considered his proclamation a bad thing and had tried to avoid it. Lincoln had hoped the voluntary emancipation plan would appease the radicals, thought Seaton, but, failing in that, had issued the proclamation in order to hold the radical support for the war effort. Seaton suggested that Lincoln's adoption of the radical plan would not be the end but only the beginning—for they would now insist on control of the cabinet and the armies to see that it was properly carried out.[75] When the full editorial analysis came, it was quite calm, compared to many Conservative strictures. He said that the Conservatives thought they could see a departure from the original and only sound constitutional authority for waging war against the insurgents; that they feared that in losing the true theory of the war the government might lose sight of the only true, as it was the only attainable, object for which the war could be carried on. Seaton considered the proclamation unconstitutional in that the President assumed legislative rights over state law. As for the future effects of the action, he had little to say except that he cheerfully awarded Lincoln the merit of good intention and expressed the hope that those who had counseled the step might prove to have seen more clearly than the editor the path of duty, honor, and safety.[76]

In the light of reactions to emancipation from these six men, it is easier to understand how Nelson, behind the Confederate lines and in a bewildering twilight zone where no one could safely predict ultimate Union victory, might respond explosively. And respond he did, proclaiming in print that the last link was broken that bound him to a government for which his ancestors had fought. "The Union men of East Tennessee," he pointed out,

> are not now and never have been committed to the doctrine of incendriaism [*sic*] and murder to which Mr. Lincoln's proclamation leads. What, then, is the path of duty in the trying circumstances which surround us? Is it to belie all our past professions and to sustain Mr.

[74] *National Intelligencer,* September 23, 1862.
[75] *Ibid.,* September 24, 1862
[76] *Ibid.,* October 11, 1862.

> Lincoln's administration, right or wrong? Is it to justify a man, whom we had no agency in elevating to power, not only in abandoning the Constitution of the United States, but in repudiating the Chicago platform, his inaugural address and messages to Congress in which the absolute right to slavery in the States where it exists was distinctly and unequivocally conceded? Or is it, in view of his many violations of the Constitution, and this crowning act of usurpation, to join that side which at present affords the only earthly hope of successful resistance?

Nelson went on to express the hope that the northern voters would now overthrow the revolutionary Lincoln government and open the way for healing the schism in the Union. "But," he concluded, "if through fear, or any other cause, Mr. Lincoln's infamous proclamation is sustained, then we have no Union to hope for, no Constitution to struggle for, no magnificent and unbroken heritage to maintain, no peace to expect, save such, as with the blessing of providence, we may conquer. . . ."[77]

The radical effort to take over the cabinet came in late fall, but Lincoln succeeded in heading it off. Bates wrote in his diary that he could see no permanent effects of the abortive attack except that Seward and other members under attack had become more radical to protect themselves in the future. The cabinet consultations on the admission of West Virginia led to an even division, in which Seward, Chase, and Stanton took what Bates considered the radical affirmative position, while he, Welles, and Blair opposed. Bates commented that he thought Seward and Stanton had bought their peace with the radicals by supporting that "monstrous bill" and by intensifying the President's final Emancipation Proclamation on January 1.[78]

Fillmore kept his self-imposed silence and declined to address the citizens of Nashville, Tennessee, on Washington's Birthday, 1863, saying in his letter declining the invitation that had Washington's paternal and patriotic advice been followed, North and South, the country would not then be bleeding at every pore.[79]

Washington's Birthday did not pass without a Constitutional Union speech, however, for Crittenden made his last congressional address, opposing conscription. "*What* has united the South in one solid phalanx? What has crushed and destroyed to a great extent, if not wholly, the confidence and enthusiasm that swelled in the great heart of the

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[77] Nelson's address regarding the proclamation appeared in the Knoxville *Register,* October 5, 1862, and was reprinted in other papers and as a handbill. Cited in Alexander, *Nelson,* 98-100.

[78] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates,* 271.

[79] Severance (ed.), *Fillmore Papers,* II, 427-28.

people of this nation?" he asked. And answered: "Our departure from our faith,—departing from that object which we declared to be the only just and patriotic one. . . . Have you not, in a manner considered perfidious, violated the pledges which you gave the country more than eighteen months ago?" Crittenden took the position that the war could be more successfully carried on by obeying the Constitution than by transcending it. He concluded by saying that the only solution was to return to the original purpose of the war.[80] Crittenden died in the summer of 1863, but he left in his papers a set of resolutions to be introduced at the end of military operations—resolutions designed to checkmate the radical, proscriptive plans of reconstruction and restore the southern states to the Union with their constitutional powers untouched.[81]

During 1863 Bates grew more and more uncomfortable in Lincoln's cabinet and would have resigned if his sense of duty had not required him to remain. He noted that he was not receiving the consideration that was his due from the President, not from any lack of personal confidence, but because Lincoln was under constant pressure of extreme factions and of bold and importunate men, who, taking advantage of his amiable weakness, committed him beforehand to their ends so as to bar all future deliberation.[82] Bates judged that an open break between himself and Secretary of War Stanton would develop if Stanton thought it politically safe;[83] and he considered Postmaster General Blair guilty of sycophancy with Lincoln.[84] By May of 1863 he was hoping that military victories would make Lincoln more independent and self-reliant. "Now," he wrote, "the *extreme* leaders have subordinated every thing to the negro—Law, justice, policy —the War itself to their mania for abolition."[85]

In October, 1863, Winthrop delivered an address urging the press in the loyal states to work for troops to crush the rebellion, but at the same time to deal with the great questions of the future, so as to prepare the way, or at least leave the way open, for that ultimate restora-

[80] Coleman, *Crittenden,* II, 355ff.
[81] *Ibid.*, II, 369.
[82] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates,* 280.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*, 285.
[85] *Ibid.*, 291.

tion of fraternity and concord, without which all the military successes would prove vain and worthless.[86]

During 1864 the presidential election absorbed the lion's share of attention that could be spared for civil affairs. Bates grew continually more uncomfortable in his position as attorney general and told the President in mid-year that he would like to resign after the election.[87] As early as February Bates had a private conversation with Lincoln about the election in which Lincoln said that the schemes of the radicals were almost fiendish. Bates recorded that he remarked to Lincoln that if he were to stand out manfully against unprincipled designs of the radicals, he thought it would be easy to bring all old Whigs to his support. The President seemed to Bates to be hopeful, but Bates feared that the President's easy good nature would enable radicals to commit him to too many of their extreme measures, so that the wall of separation between them would be too thin to stop the fire of their bad principles and save the Constitution and laws from the universal conflagration which their measures plainly portended.[88]

In March Bates noted that he was supporting Lincoln by letters to friends—not on the ground of approval of all that was done in his name but on the ground that he was immeasurably preferable to the radical aspirants for the Republican nomination. Bates almost rationalized his position in the cabinet by saying that his office of attorney general was not properly political but strictly legal.[89] When Congress adjourned in July, Bates rejoiced that it could do no more harm for a while and wrote a tirade against the radicals for lack of constitutional restraints, recklessness of future consequences, and being what he called "Negro mad" without doing anything really to help the Negro.[90] In regard to Lincoln's reluctance to revoke military orders relating to Norfolk, Virginia, orders which Bates and others in the cabinet considered usurpations, Bates wrote: "My heart is sick, when I see the President shrink from the correction of gross and heinous wrong because he is afraid 'Genl Butler will raise a hubbub about it.' "[91] By late July he was noting that political affairs seemed so restless and unsettled

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[86] Winthrop, *Addresses*, 566.
[87] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates*, 428.
[88] *Ibid.*, 333-34.
[89] *Ibid.*, 350.
[90] *Ibid.*, 382-83.
[91] *Ibid.*, 386-88, 393-94.

that he was more glad than ever to belong to no party. "When the Whig party committed suicide, in 1856," he commented, "and thereby left the nation without a *bodyguard,* I died with it. . . ."[92] A few days later he wrote a Missouri friend that, of late, he had frequent conflicts with the military authorities, but commonly found that bayonets were stronger than statutes. "One thing, at least," he added, "I can do, & *will* do—i.e. put & leave myself right, on the record."[93] In a later letter to the same friend he exclaimed: "The President can *see,* as well as any man, what is good for his Country. O! that he could *act* as well as *see!* But men do tell us that '*Hell* itself, is paved with good intentions.' He wishes well to his Country, but lacks the faculty to control—the *will* to punish abuses of his power, which, rampant & unrebuked, are rapidly bringing him & his good cause, to sorrow & shame."[94]

Despite his dissatisfaction with Lincoln in this regard, Bates could see no hope in the Democratic party and in McClellan. McClellan, he said, had no prestige as a politician, and certainly no renown in arms. Of the party, he commented:

> The Chicago Convention calls itself the *Democratic* convention. . . . yet several writers who support the cause, I observe, call it (prepos-t[e]rously enough) *Conservative;* forgetting that Democracy has always heretofore, claimed for itself the title of *Progressive,* as the very opposite of *Conservative,* and affected to despise and hate conservatism, as, at once, a weakness and a crime.[95]

Bates was distressed when the conservative Blair was forced to resign from the cabinet as the price of Fremont's withdrawing from the presidential race. He feared that this meant more radical influence in the next administration, and he thought that Lincoln could have been re-elected without the radical support and could then have followed the constitution more faithfully.[96]

Thomas Ewing, with apparent reluctance, finally decided that Lincoln was preferable to McClellan and made a speech for Lincoln just before the election. He told his audience that it had been many years since he had belonged to any party, and that he opposed McClellan only because he feared that his election would mean the end of the war without the restoration of the Union. Ewing said he

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[92] *Ibid.,* 390-91.
[93] Edward Bates to James O. Broadhead, July 30, 1864, in Broadhead Papers.
[94] *Id.* to *id.,* August 13, 1864, in *ibid.*
[95] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates,* 408-09.
[96] *Ibid.,* 412-13.

was for conciliation, kindness, and concession, and everything that could restore mutual confidence and harmony in the Union—but that first the peace had to be won on the battlefield.[97]

Fillmore made a Washington Birthday address at Buffalo in 1864 in which he pointed out that private citizens could not control the events of the desolating war and should not try to criticise those conducting it. One thing he did consider to be clear was that much would have to be forgiven, if not forgotten, on both sides before the Union could ever be restored; and he therefore pleaded for the avoidance of all unnecessary acts of wanton destruction, cruelty, insult, or insolence. He advised magnanimity and generosity after the restoration of peace.[98]

When the presidential canvass got underway, Fillmore wrote private letters favoring the election of McClellan. But at first he would only allow the letters to be shown to others or read at club meetings—not published. Finally, however, he surrendered even this point and allowed publication of one of his letters, in which he wrote:

> I sincerely feel that the country is on the verge of ruin, and unless the policy which governs our national affairs can be changed, we must soon end in national bankruptcy and a military despotism. . . . but in my opinion the policy can only be changed by a change of Administration. Everything seems to have been done to unite and exasperate the South and intensify its hatred to the North, so as to render a union impossible; but still I am not without hope that a change of Administration may change the feeling of the South towards us; and eventually bring about a restored union, and an honorable peace; but I have no faith in that policy which proposes to exterminate the South, or hold it in military subjugation. To maintain this Union by force of arms, merely would require a standing army that would exhaust all the resources of the nation, and necessarily convert our Government into a military despotism.[99]

When in June the Baltimore convention nominated Lincoln, Seaton only commented that he considered the nomination premature.[100] By the time of the Democratic convention at Chicago in August, the *Intelligencer* was openly hoping for a nomination there which would give the people a clear choice between Lincoln's position—union *and* abolition of slavery—and a platform calling for peace on strictly constitutional conditions—that is, union with no reference to slavery. The editors felt that Lincoln's insistence on abolition along with peace

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[97] *Speech of Hon. Thomas Ewing at Circleville, O., November 3, 1864* (n.p., n.d.).
[98] Severance (ed.), *Fillmore Papers*, II, 86-90.
[99] *Ibid.*, 431-34.
[100] *National Intelligencer*, June 10, 1864.

would make it impossible to end the war in another four years and would eventually result in permanent disunion.[101] McClellan's nomination and letter of acceptance were hailed by the *Intelligencer* as providing just the choice the editors wanted the voters to have. Saying that McClellan stood squarely on the Crittenden resolutions concerning the purpose of the war, an *Intelligencer* editorial continued:

> If President Lincoln had possessed the requisite steadfastness to preserve the consistency of his opinions—if he had not yielded to a "pressure" from which he asked others to relieve the country, without having the strength of will to relieve himself from its growing demands—he might today have stood in the same commanding attitude. . . . But he has chosen to complicate his position, and therefore the fortunes of the Union, as far as they are subject to his control, with policies lying not only outside the Constitution, but conceived in palpable contradiction with its letter and spirit, as that instrument is construed and interpreted by many, we believe by a vast majority of loyal people of the United States. From these embarrassments and complications Gen. McClellan is free. . . .[102]

The election day editorial in the *Intelligencer* stressed that the editors stood in 1864 on the platform where Lincoln had stood in 1861. Noting that both political organizations had dangerous factions, the editors concluded that McClellan had shown more steadfastness against the Vallandigham faction than Lincoln against the Greeley faction of their respective parties.[103]

Winthrop never hesitated in his support of McClellan in 1864. When the Democratic convention made its nominations, Winthrop wrote that the Chicago platform did not quite suit his fancy and that George Pendleton did not come up to his ideal for the vice-presidency, but that on the whole he could not prefer Lincoln and Johnson to McClellan and Pendleton.[104] In a speech at a New York ratification meeting for McClellan, Winthrop placed emphasis on the idea that Lincoln had woven a Gordian knot with his slavery policy that he could neither untie nor cut with the sword. Winthrop's advice was to go back to the Crittenden resolutions, and he maintained that McClellan was the man who embodied that idea. He was clearly on the defensive about the Democratic platform, and frankly stated that he considered it a hasty work that in no way governed McClellan, whose letter of

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[101] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1864.
[102] *Ibid.*, September 1, 10, 1864.
[103] *Ibid.*, November 8, 1864.
[104] Robert C. Winthrop to John P. Kennedy, September 6, 1864, in Kennedy Papers.

acceptance had essentially repudiated any platform ideas that might lead to peace without union.[105]

Winthrop's major address for McClellan was delivered in Connecticut in mid-October. Stating that he believed that the civil policy of the administration had been calculated to extinguish every spark of Union sentiment in the southern states, and that mere force could not restore the Union as it was, despite all the conquering and devastation, he expressed the conviction that men were needed at the helm who could take advantage of military victories by wise, conciliatory, and healing policies. Describing Lincoln's policies as "shifting and drifting," he announced his judgment that almost any other party and almost any other President could more likely than Lincoln succeed in restoring the Union and peace and constitutional liberty.[106] This long address contained such clever and incisive criticisms of the administration policy and such prophetic passages about the postwar reconstruction dangers if radicals were allowed to continue in power that the Democrats had 200,000 copies printed.[107] Winthrop, in a confidential letter after the election, reported that Lincoln, Seward, and Caleb Cushing believed that McClellan would have been elected if his campaign had uniformly been conducted in the manner of Winthrop's Connecticut speech.[108] Privately, Winthrop had very much doubted McClellan's chances, but he thought the movement had done great good in stirring up the administration and, through it, the army.[109]

Before the election of 1864 Nelson had undergone a severely trying experience in a no man's land of the military theatre. He had been forced to observe with growing despair the unconstitutional steps and even frantically ruthless acts of a desperate Confederate government. As was the case with many other border-state Whigs who had been loyal to the Union less long than Nelson, he was reaching the conclusion that the Confederacy offered no "unbroken heritage" of constitutionalism either.[110] Therefore, when the Federal troops finally

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105 Winthrop, *Addresses*, 590-99.
106 *Ibid.*, 600-30.
107 Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 257-58.
108 *Ibid.*, 261-62.
109 *Ibid.*, 257-58.
110 Alexander, *Nelson*, 104-13. Nelson's thinking during this period is clearly revealed in an anonymously published book of poems and explanatory notes, [Thomas Amis Rogers Nelson], *Secession; or, Prose in Rhyme, and East Tennessee, a Poem* (Philadelphia, 1864).

recovered East Tennessee permanently, Nelson and the majority of the Union leaders of that area resumed their hopes for restoration of constitutional government within the Federal Union. When Nelson called a final meeting of the East Tennessee Convention, he was gratified to learn that a majority of the 1861 Unionist leaders still held him in high esteem and concurred in his view that George B. McClellan, the Democratic party nominee, ought to be supported for the presidency of the United States.[111] Nelson was nominated as elector-at-large on a McClellan slate in Tennessee but expressed an unwillingness to enter politics again as a candidate.

After Lincoln's re-election, W. W. Seaton and his associate editor, James C. Welling, bowed out of the management of the *National Intelligencer* and Edward Bates retired from the cabinet in accordance with his long-standing plan.[112] The rapid denouement of the war, together with Lincoln's sharp veering back toward the conservative position in regard to coming reconstruction matters, silenced whatever criticism Lincoln might have received from the Constitutional Union faction. And his tragic death and consequent beatification kept it silenced. Bates entered in his diary: "besides a deep sense of the calamity which the nation has sustained, my private feelings are deeply moved by the sudden murder of my chief, with and under whom I have served the country, through many difficult and trying scenes, and always with mutual sentiments of respect and friendship."[113]

Winthrop said that Lincoln was a thousandfold the most precious life in the whole land, commenting:

> The cheerful courage, the shrewd sagacity, the earnest zeal, the imperturbable good-nature, the untiring fidelity to duty, the ardent devotion to the Union, the firm reliance upon God which he has displayed during his whole administration; and the eminent moderation and magnanimity, both toward political opponents and public enemies, which he has manifested since his . . . triumphant re-election,—have won for him a measure of regard, of respect, and of affection, such as no other man of our age has ever enjoyed.[114]

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[111] Alexander, *Nelson*, 114-17. Among other strong Unionists of 1861 in East Tennessee who agreed with Nelson in 1864 were John Baxter, John Netherland, William B. Carter, and John M. Fleming. It is an interesting and significant point that Oliver P. Temple, a strong pro-Lincoln man in 1864, conceded that "a majority of the Union leaders of East Tennessee" opposed the Lincoln administration in 1864. See Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee from 1833 to 1875* (New York, 1912), 92, 120, 165, 407-08.

[112] *National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1865; Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates*, 427-28.

[113] *Ibid.*, 473.

[114] Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 265.

Of the obvious contrast between his views of Lincoln in 1864 and after his death, Winthrop wrote:

> The change was not so much in my opinions as in the attitude of Mr. Lincoln. Nothing is . . . more clear to my own mind—than that, during the last six months of his life, his whole policy was modified, if not absolutely reversed. The strong opposition which was made to his re-election, and even to his nomination, would seem to have awakened him to a sense that he must adopt a new course. He abandoned all interference with his generals . . . manifesting meantime a most amiable and conciliatory disposition toward the South, and seemingly ready to exert all his influence to secure peace. . . . Those who had opposed his re-election might thus deplore his loss without a particle of inconsistency, and his death by the bullet of a madman took away all heart for remembering anything but his virtues and his patriotism.[115]

Fillmore made a brief address on the death of Lincoln, saying that he was certain none deplored Lincoln's death more than he. "It is well known," he commented,

> that I have not approved of all acts which have been done in his name during his Administration but I am happy to say that his recent course met my approbation, and I had looked forward with confident expectations that he would soon be able to end the war, and by his kind, conciliatory manner win back our erring and repentant brethren and restore the Union.[116]

But Lincoln's assassination did not close the lid of Pandora's Box, in fact it was made more impossible to close. Bates noted soon after the assassination that extreme radicals, who were never Lincoln's friends, schemed to make capital of his murder.[117] He jotted down his definition of a radical:

> Politically, a Radical is a man who is always dealing with the *root*—the origin and foundation, of society. He appeals, for every thing, great and small, to the primitive principles of man's nature, *as he understands them*; and boldly assumes (in spite of apparent facts) that man was created, not according to the counsels of Eternal Wisdom, but according to the radical theory. He always claims to act in the name of the *Sovereign People,* and armed with all their powers. Of course then, he is above all constitutions and laws. . . .[118]

And in another place, lamenting the rise of radicalism at the war's end, he wrote: "Nothing less than the unreasoning excitement of the public mind, the hot fermentation of all the elements, could have forced up to the surface many of our most frothy demagogues. Stevens has become

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[115] *Ibid.,* 266-67.
[116] Severance (ed.), *Fillmore Papers,* II, 106-08.
[117] Beale (ed.), *Diary of Edward Bates,* 474-75.
[118] *Ibid.,* 431-32, 453.

a leader, and Wilson, and Wade and Kell[e]y and Bingham talk heresy and nonsense, and are accounted wise and loyal!"[119]

In summary, Nelson and these six men sought to quiet sectional animosity and to bring northern as well as southern men to do their part in curbing the emotional drive toward conflict. Confronted by the election of 1860, Bates and Ewing thought the conservative and practicable course lay in supporting Lincoln; while the other four and Nelson, seeking the same end, gave Bell their support. Compromise and concession, together with the greatest forbearance and caution were urged by all during the trying months before Sumter. And after war was a fact, all sought to have it fought solely to save the Union and the Constitution, and not for any purpose of abolitionism or destruction of state rights. Thus all were alarmed at the steps away from strict constitutionalism taken in the name of war necessity, and all deplored the rising power of radicalism. They disagreed in 1864 exactly as in 1860—Bates and Ewing staying, howbeit reluctantly, with Lincoln and the others seeing McClellan as the better choice for conservative men. And all were pleased that Lincoln's last months showed a decided trend back toward the Constitutional Union ideal, regretting keenly that he did not live to battle the Radicals on the Reconstruction issues.

The survivors, Bates, Fillmore, Winthrop, Ewing, and Nelson, all resisted with whatever power they could muster the advent of Radical Reconstruction, and gave Andrew Johnson and the Democratic party their support in that endeavor. Nelson became Johnson's only personally-selected counsel for the defense in the Impeachment Trial, and he headed the Tennessee delegation to the Democratic National Convention of 1868. Only Winthrop lived to see the end of the Reconstruction Era, and he would never allow himself to be classed with any existing political party, although he generally voted with the Democrats.

In the light of the Civil War attitudes of these leading Constitutional Union men, Nelson's apparent vacillation is more clearly seen as a consistent preference for constitutionalism rather than for Union at any price. But there is a much broader question clearly implied. Without denying to Lincoln any of his good intentions, without denying

[119] *Ibid.*, 272-73. He refers to Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Wilson, William D. Kelley, and John A. Bingham.

even that the evidence available to him at the time might have justified his course as well as it could be marshaled to justify the Constitutional Union contentions, is the historian entirely foreclosed in asking whether the war might not have been won and the Union saved within the Constitution and without calling up a radical earthquake to sharpen the Federal weapons? If the answer is even "possibly so," then the Constitutional Unionists deserve better than the oblivion Civil War historians have accorded them. For they tried to win the war without sacrificing the peace. They strove to avoid the subsequent decade of revolutionary radicalism, the end result of which the nation has not yet finished enduring.

Is it not time Constitutional Union men were accepted in the company of those who loved their country no less than Lincoln? They were Americans too—and perhaps the wisest of a tragic generation.

DAVID CROCKETT: CONGRESSMAN

By STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE AND ANNA GRACE CATRON

(A continuation of "The Early Career of David Crockett" in *Publications* No. 28)

When the special session of the Fifteenth General Assembly of Tennessee adjourned on October 22, 1824, David Crockett had completed his second term as a state legislator, and he returned home to West Tennessee to follow his usual pursuits of farming and hunting. His residence at this time was in Gibson County, and the records of that county reveal that he was occasionally called for jury duty. In fact, when he returned home from the legislative session of 1824, he was fined $25.00 for failing to honor such a summons issued while he was still in Murfreesboro—a consideration which enabled him to have the fine remitted a year later.[1]

Since Crockett had attained a reputation in the legislature as an effective defender of the interests of the occupants or squatters in the Western District (as West Tennessee was then called), he was prevailed upon by his friends and neighbors to become a candidate for Congress in the campaign of 1825. The incumbent congressman from the Ninth Congressional District, Colonel Adam Alexander, had aroused dissatisfaction in West Tennessee because of his support of the Tariff of 1824 increasing tariff duties. Two other candidates in addition to Crockett entered the race. David's candidacy was premature. In his *Autobiography,* published in 1834, he claimed that he was reluctant to enter the contest and modestly admitted that he "know'd nothing about Congress matters." He explained his defeat by "exactly *two* votes" on the ground that Alexander was able to take advantage of the high price of cotton that year, which he claimed was due entirely to the tariff bill. As Crockett's ghost writer expressed it, "I might as well have sung *salms* over a dead horse, as to try to make the people believe otherwise."[2]

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[1] James Atkins Shackford, *David Crockett: the Man and the Legend* (Chapel Hill, 1956), 301 (n. 1).

[2] *The Autobiography of David Crockett,* with an introduction by Hamlin Garland (New York, 1923), 111-12. According to Shackford, *David Crockett,* 269-70, the facts in the *Autobiography* were largely Crockett's, and given with reasonable accuracy, but the language was that of his collaborator, Thomas Chilton, who flavored it with grammatical

Actually, Crockett was defeated by a margin of 115 votes, and there were other factors besides the tariff issue which contributed to that result.[3] One influence was an attack upon Crockett and a West Tennessee state senator, Colonel Thomas Williamson, for their negligence as legislators in permitting an East Tennessee brigade to be added to the militia division of the Western District and for legislation changing the times of the meetings of the county and circuit courts of Madison County. The attack was made by John Overton, Andrew Jackson's close friend and law partner, in a series of letters signed "Aristides" and printed in West Tennessee newspapers. Friends of Crockett replied with evidence indicating that the militia mix-up was due to a mistake by the engrossing clerk resulting from confusion as to the numbers of the several brigades, but Overton still insisted that the legislators had been caught napping and should be replaced. Williamson was defeated for re-election by Joel Walker; and in his race for Congress Alexander led Crockett by a vote of 527 to 65 in Madison County.[4]

Another cause of Crockett's defeat probably was his lack of money. It was not until his next campaign that he began to receive financial aid from a wealthy Memphis friend. In a letter presumably written July 8, 1835, to the publishers of his *Tour to the North,* Crockett described his efforts to overcome this financial handicap. The account may be one of his numerous tall tales, but it makes a good story and is therefore included, especially since it throws some light on campaign methods on the frontier in West Tennessee and the means by which Crockett gained popularity.

The incident occurred, he said, "when I first run for Congress." He "started off to the Cross Roads, dressed in my hunting shirt, and my rifle on my shoulder" and came upon a crowd being addressed by one of his opponents near a "shantee" tavern owned by a "gander-shanked Yankee" named Job Snelling. When the crowd saw him approach they called on him to speak; so he "mounted the stump" and "began to bushwack in the approved style." Before long the crowd let him know

errors and misspellings which bear little resemblance to the types of mistakes actually made by Crockett in letters known to have been written by him.

[3] *Jackson* (Tennessee) *Gazette,* Sept. 17, 1825. There is evidence, however, that the tariff question did have some weight. *Ibid.,* Feb. 19, June 4, 1825.

[4] *Ibid.,* July 16, 23, 30, Aug. 6, 1825. The identification of "Aristides" as John Overton is found in J. M. Keating, *History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee,* 3 vols. in one (Syracuse, N. Y., 1888), I, 169.

that they could not listen to him on such a dry subject as the welfare of the nation without something to drink. Whereupon, he led them into the tavern and ordered a quart; but Snelling refused to serve the liquor because Crockett was unable to pay. Therefore, the crowd quickly deserted him. David took his rifle into the woods and in a quarter of an hour had killed and skinned a "coon." Returning to the tavern, he traded the skin for a quart of rum, and thereby recovered his crowd on the stump. When the hearers again became thirsty, he reluctantly led them again into the "shantee," fearing that he would have to go out and shoot another coon. But he happened to see the tail of the coonskin he had already used sticking between the logs that supported the bar. He pulled it out, slapped it on the counter, and obtained another quart. "I wish I may be shot," continued Crockett, "if I didn't, before the day was over, get ten quarts for the same identical skin." Although at its beginning the anecdote was identified with the election of 1825, when Crockett was defeated, at the end of the account its application had changed to the next campaign, when he was successful —a shift obviously made necessary by his desire to claim that the stratagem enabled him to win the election.[5]

Before engaging in his second campaign for Congress, Crockett was fortunate enough to obtain the promise of some financial assistance. This came about in a rather unusual way. In addition to engaging in farming and hunting, Crockett also attempted a lumber speculation. He and some hired hands built two large boats, loaded them with pipe and barrel staves, and started down the river for New Orleans. Some distance down the Mississippi the boats capsized, the cargo was lost, and Crockett and the crew barely escaped drowning. Crockett was saved by being dragged through a hole in the boat minus his clothing and some of his skin. Fortunately, the next day about sunrise a large boat picked them up and took them to Memphis. Following this

[5] This "letter" was first printed as the first of two "diary" entries, chapter 1, in the largely spurious *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* (Philadelphia, 1836), which was reprinted as a part of the 1923 edition of the *Autobiography* (pp. 211 ff). Professor Shackford (*David Crockett,* 273-81) discovered that the second diary entry, August 11, 1835, chapter 2 of the *Exploits* (*Autobiography,* 219-25), is almost identical with an extant and authentic Crockett letter of the same date to his publishers, Carey and Hart; and he therefore concludes that the first diary entry beginning: "I begin this book on the 8th day of July, 1835," which constitutes all of chapter 1 of *Exploits* except a three-paragraph introduction, probably was copied in the same manner from another Crockett letter, now lost, of July 8, 1835, to Carey and Hart. He believes that these first two chapters are the only authentic portions of the *Exploits* volume.

rescue, according to Memphis historians, Crockett became extremely popular in that city; and in his later political campaigns Memphians supported him staunchly. David also made the acquaintance and acquired the friendship of a prominent Memphis merchant and future postmaster, Major Marcus B. Winchester, who not only supplied David and his companions with funds and clothing to enable them to return home, but also presumably encouraged David's political ambitions. David admits in his *Autobiography* that in his campaign of 1827 a good friend—probably Winchester—loaned him $250 which enabled him to treat the voters with a little of "the *creature*" which was so helpful in winning elections.[6]

Crockett was opposed in this campaign by General William Arnold as well as by Colonel Alexander, both of Jackson, Tennessee. According to Crockett, they tried to ignore him in the campaign and directed their attention largely to each other. But Crockett's fund of wit and political genius were equal to the occasion. At one "speaking" in the canvass General Arnold, disturbed by the cackling of some guineas nearby, asked that they be driven away. When Crockett rose to speak he said: "Well, colonel [purposely demoting him for political effect], you are the first man I ever saw that understood the language of fowls." He went on to say that Arnold had not had the politeness to name him in his speech, and when his "little friends, the guinea-fowls, had come up and began to holler 'Crockett, Crockett, Crockett,' he had been ungenerous enough to stop and drive *them* all away." With the aid of such tactics and with a decline in the price of cotton destroying Alexander's argument of the preceding campaign, Crockett won the election by a considerable margin, which he claimed to be 2,748 votes.[7]

The new congressman from the wilds of West Tennessee must have excited a considerable amount of curiosity when he arrived in Washington to attend the first session of the Twentieth Congress in

[6] *Autobiography,* 113-30; Keating, *Memphis and Shelby County,* I, 180; James D. Davis, *The History of the City of Memphis* (Memphis, 1873), 147-50; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 74-80. Shackford also believes that the action of George W. Gibbs on April 24, 1826, in dropping prosecution of an ejectment suit against Crockett and paying the court costs himself indicates general sympathy for David in his financial straits. *Ibid.,* 80.

[7] *Autobiography,* 112, 130-32. Arnold had defeated the popular Col. Robert H. Dyer for the position of major general of the Western District militia in 1824; he retained the position until 1833. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 82. It seems that Crockett's eldest son, John Wesley, now nineteen or twenty, accompanied him on this campaign. *Ibid.,* 81.

December, 1827. Several months later a Tennessee newspaper stated that he had come to Congress boasting that he could "wade the Mississippi, carry a steam-boat on his back, and whip his weight in wild-cats"; moreover, he was not afraid to address the House because he could "whip any man in it." Another contemporary observation was made in a letter to Henry Clay from an anti-Jacksonian of Nashville, James Erwin, who had seen Crockett in that city not long after the election. Crockett, he said, was "not only illiterate but he is rough & uncouth, talks much & badly, and is by far, more in his proper place, when hunting a Bear in a cane Brake, than he will be in the Capital." He acknowledged, however, that he was fiercely independent, as shown by his voting against Jackson for the Senate in 1823, and he thought he might be a likely convert for the administration party.[8]

The administration party referred to by Erwin was the John Quincy Adams-Henry Clay coalition which had put Adams in the White House as the result of the House election of 1825, with Clay becoming secretary of state. This group had become known as the National Republican party, but later, especially after 1832, it was to adopt the name Whig. The followers of Andrew Jackson, who had led his three opponents in the electoral college vote in the election of 1824 but had failed to receive a majority, claimed that their hero had been defeated by a "corrupt bargain" in the House election and were determined to elect him to the presidency in 1828. At first they continued to use the old name of the Jeffersonian party, "Republican," but gradually they became known as Democratic Republicans, or simply as Democrats.

Erwin was a good prophet in saying that Crockett was a likely convert for the Adams-Clay party, for he did join it later; but during the first session of the Twentieth Congress he remained a loyal Jacksonian. This is shown not only by his votes in the House, but also by some letters he wrote at that time which are still extant. In one letter of February 5 he reported that the Jacksonians had a large majority in both houses of Congress and

> I can here [hear] from all quarters of the union and the Cry is that Jackson will be our next president . . . our mighty adminestration that got into power by bargin and management and not according to the

[8] Quoted in Charles G. Sellers, Jr., *James K. Polk, Jacksonian* (Princeton, 1957), 123-24, citing Nashville *Republican,* Mar. 18, 1828, and James Erwin to Clay, Sept. 30, 1827, Clay Papers (Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville).

> inlightened youmenry of the nation begins to look very much down in the mouth. . . .

He continued that a Jackson man, Andrew Stevenson, had been elected speaker and General Duff Green, public printer,

> having choaked off Joseph Gails and Co. the treasury pap Sucking Editor imployed by the Coaletion [.] by this you See that the adminestration is in the minority and I pray god that thare they may remain[.] thare is nothing to prevent our old Hero from Recieving the Reward of Merit. . . .[9]

In other letters during this session he mentioned presenting a petition for a mail route desired by his constituents, expressed surprise at his power of patronage as a representative and at the slowness of congressional action due to a "desposition here to Show Eloquence," and stated his intention of voting against all tariff increases.[10] What appears to have been his maiden speech in Congress was in opposition to the grant of a pension to the widow of a General Brown, who was in indigent circumstances. He contended that Congress did not have the power to appropriate public funds for charity. Recognizing the need of Mrs. Brown, however, he offered personally, along with Representative Thomas Chilton of Kentucky, to subscribe the necessary amount. Thus we find beginning in this session the close association between Crockett and the Thomas Chilton who was to collaborate with him in the production of his *Autobiography*.[11]

The subject in which Crockett was most interested during this session, as indicated by his early letters,[12] and throughout his congressional career was the Tennessee "Vacant Land" bill. This was a measure which James K. Polk had been striving to get passed ever since he had entered Congress in 1825.

The historical background of this proposed legislation is rather involved. When North Carolina ceded to the United States its claim to the Tennessee country in 1789-90, making possible the creation of a federal territory which was admitted to the Union as the state of Ten-

[9] Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 88, from a letter in possession of the Tennessee Historical Society. Crockett's antipathy toward Gales and Seaton, publishers of the *Register of Debates in Congress,* was short-lived.

[10] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 87-89. As a result of a resolution he introduced, Congress did provide for a new mail route in his district. Record Group 233, The National Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereafter cited RG 233); *Register of Debates,* 20 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, xii. For his vote against the tariff bill see *ibid.,* 20 Cong., 1 sess., 2471.

[11] *Ibid.,* 2086; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 89-90. For the close parallel between the careers of Crockett and Chilton see *ibid.,* 303 (n. 8). The pension bill passed, despite their opposition.

[12] Pertinent extracts are quoted in *ibid.,* 90.

nessee in 1796, she made her cession conditional upon the recognition of all land titles under her previously-passed land laws. Thus, in effect, she ceded to the United States only the amount of land which would be left over after all of her generous land bounties to Revolutionary soldiers and the claims of land speculators already staked out to millions of acres in the Indian country had been satisfied. According to the so-called Compact of 1806, enacted by Congress and accepted by the two states, the United States reserved for itself only the land in a "Congressional Reservation," which included all of West Tennessee and the southwestern part of Middle Tennessee. She relinquished to Tennessee the title to land elsewhere in the state, subject to the requirement that Tennessee satisfy all the North Carolina land claims. The North Carolina land warrants were so numerous that when West Tennessee was finally acquired from the Indians in 1818 and opened to settlement, Tennessee induced Congress to open the Congressional Reservation to the satisfaction of North Carolina warrants. The next year the Tennessee legislature made provision for the surveying of that area and the location of the North Carolina claims. The law prohibited, however, the survey of any land actually occupied and improved until the occupant had been paid for his improvements. The occupants were also permitted to acquire title to the lands they were occupying by purchasing from speculators or other persons North Carolina warrants which they could use under certain restrictions for the entering in the land office of their holdings. In 1822 and again in 1825 Tennessee had accepted as valid large numbers of escheated military warrants owned by the University of North Carolina, on condition that these land claims be divided among that institution and two Tennessee colleges. By the act of 1825 these warrants were to be consolidated and issued in twenty-five acre certificates; and the occupants in the Congressional Reservation were given preference in the purchase of these certificates at fifty cents an acre as a means of acquiring title to their holdings.[13]

As a result of these laws most of the good land in the Congressional Reservation was taken up by holders of North Carolina warrants. As early as 1823, when he was a member along with Crockett of the Tennessee legislature, Polk had drafted and the legislature had adopted

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[13] Henry D. Whitney (ed.), *The Land Laws of Tennessee* (Cincinnati, 1893), 46-54, 58-61, 200-21, 480-81, 487, 521-22. See also *House Reports*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., No. 68.

a memorial to Congress asking the United States to relinquish the remaining land to Tennessee to be used for educational purposes. As soon as he entered Congress, Polk developed as one of his major legislative aims the obtaining of such a relinquishment. During the Nineteenth Congress the administration majority refused to allow his bill to come to a vote. Prospects were brighter during the next Congress, which was controlled by the Jacksonians. He again introduced his bill which was again referred to a special committee of which he was chairman. This time one of its members was David Crockett, and it appeared at first that he would have more difficulty with him than with the northern and eastern members.[14]

As a result of his bitter experiences in the Tennessee legislature as a champion of squatters' rights, Crockett feared that the legislature, if it acquired complete control over the disposition of those lands, could not be trusted to protect adequately the rights of the occupants. He was also afraid that the revenue would be used in support of colleges instead of common schools, especially since John Bell was waging a campaign in favor of using those lands as an endowment for the University of Nashville (formerly Cumberland College), which was one of the Tennessee institutions which had inherited a major part of the University of North Carolina land warrants. As a state legislator Crockett had vigorously opposed the validation of the university warrants, and in 1827 he had campaigned for Congress as the "poor man's friend." He argued that colleges would be of no benefit to the poor people of the Western District of Tennessee; if they could get merely a "common country" school to which they could send their "Big Boys in the winter" and "little ones all the year" they would consider themselves fortunate.[15]

Polk handled Crockett tactfully, permitting him to take the lead in persuading the committee to reject Bell's petition and add to the bill a requirement that the land revenue be used exclusively to aid common schools. He also told him that the bill could not pass unless it were supported unanimously by the Tennessee delegation. With Crockett's aid he obtained committee approval of the bill, and the measure finally came up for debate in the House on April 24, 1828, after a

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[14] Sellers, *Polk, Jacksonian,* 122-23.

[15] Quoted in *ibid.,* 123-24. See also Stanley J. Folmsbee and Anna Grace Catron, "The Early Career of David Crockett," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 28 (1956), 72-84.

long tariff debate had been concluded. Polk's chief argument was that according to the Compact of 1806 the equivalent of one section out of every township of land in Tennessee should have been set aside for the support of public schools, an amount which would have totalled about 444,000 acres. Because of the multiplicity of North Carolina warrants and the irregular methods of survey, only about 22,000 acres had been reserved. Therefore, the deficiency should be made up out of the Congressional Reservation lands. Since all the good land in that area had already been appropriated by North Carolina warrant holders, the federal government would never be able to realize enough by the sale of the remainder to cover the cost of setting up land offices in the state. Tennessee already had land offices established and could readily dispose of the land for the benefit of the common school fund.[16]

John Locke of Massachusetts questioned the valueless character of the remaining lands in the Congressional Reserve and opposed the policy of the bill, intimating that he believed the western states had already received too much land from the government for education and internal improvements. David Crockett came loyally to Polk's support and testified as a resident for ten years of the district involved that the unappropriated lands were largely worthless. Much of it was marshy and frequently inundated, a fact he knew "personally; having rowed a canoe from hill to hill." He also acclaimed the bill because it would make it possible for poor squatters to get title to their land, thereby making them better citizens, and help educate the poor man's child. He apologized for his own "plain and unvarnished" appearance and admitted that he had not had the advantages of an education. But, he added, "from having experienced the want of them [educational opportunities]; and on that account, I am the more anxious to extend them to those who will come after me."[17]

The opposition continued to be very vocal and eventually talked the bill to death. It was brought out that the small amount of school lands was Tennessee's own fault since its legislature had sacrificed education to advance the interests of the land speculators, and that the unappropriated lands in the Congressional Reservation were rather extensive, amounting to three or four million acres. Although Polk

[16] Sellers, *Polk, Jacksonian,* 124-25; *House Ex. Docs.,* 19 Cong., 1 sess., No. 160; *Register of Debates,* 20 Cong., 1 sess., 2495-2500.
[17] *Ibid.,* 2514-20; Sellers, *Polk, Jacksonian,* 125.

accepted an amendment limiting the amount of the cession to the acreage necessary to make up for the deficiency in the school lands, the bill was tabled by a vote of 113 to 63. Crockett voted with the others in the Tennessee delegation against the tabling motion, but a few days later he revealed his real objective by introducing a resolution for an inquiry into the desirability of a direct federal donation of 160 acres to each *bona fide* occupant in the Congressional Reservation.[18]

Crockett returned to Tennessee when Congress adjourned; and since he had purchased land in Weakley County he was appointed on July 14 a member of a jury of view to mark a road from Dresden in that county to the Gibson County line, where it would connect with a road leading to Trenton which David had helped mark in January, 1825. He was still having financial difficulties, for he was listed on a Weakley County tax list as not having paid his taxes on 225 acres of land. Also, in Gibson County on December 5, 1828, he and an associate named Squire B. Partee were sued by Abraham P. Cantrell, who was awarded $56.56 when the defendants failed to appear.[19]

By that date Crockett had returned to Washington to attend the short session of the Twentieth Congress. Between sessions he had aroused a considerable amount of support for his plan to have the federal government donate land to the occupants in the Congressional Reservation, and he was determined to do his best to have it enacted. He hoped to get the aid of the other members of the Tennessee delegation, but if they refused, he was ready to sponsor it on his own. As early as December 13, 1828, he sent a letter to the editor of the *Jackson Gazette* which revealed his intentions and also that his hope for support from his colleagues had failed to materialize. He sent along a draft of the bill he planned to introduce, which he asked the editor to publicize. He admitted that his colleagues were almost unanimously opposed to his proposition, alleging that they were bound to obey the legislature of Tennessee, "which seeks to have this land subjected to its control." As for Crockett, he chose to "obey my constituents, who have placed me in office and whose servant I am."[20]

When Polk succeeded in having his land bill taken from the table

[18] *Ibid.*, 125-26; *Register of Debates,* 20 Cong., 1 sess., 2520-39, 2542-50; RG 233; *House Journal,* 20 Cong., 1 sess., 659-61, 721.
[19] Shackford, *David Crockett,* citing Gibson and Weakley County court records.
[20] *Jackson Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1829.

on January 5, Crockett immediately introduced his bill as an amendment to it, to replace everything after the enacting clause. It provided that "all persons who shall have made an improvement, and, on the 1st day of April next, shall be in actual occupation or possession, of any of the vacant and unappropriated lands of the United States, within that part of the State of Tennessee lying South and West of the Congressional Reservation Line" should have the privilege of "entering and obtaining a grant" of such vacant land not exceeding 160 acres, which should in all cases include his improvements. The entering and surveying of the land granted by the United States to the occupants was to be handled through the state's land office.

Crockett supported his proposition in a lengthy speech. In explanation of his parting company with his colleagues and his ignoring of the instructions from the Tennessee legislature, he pointed out that almost all of the Congressional Reservation lay in the congressional district he represented, the only exception being a very small part of it in Polk's district.[21] The people for whom he was pleading had "fixed their little homes" between located tracts and "had mingled the sweat of their brows with the soil they occupied."

> Was it fair for the General Government to take away these humble cottages from them, and make a donation of the whole to the legislature of the State, for the purpose of raising up schools for the children of the rich? . . . My district has already had to pay one hundred thousand dollars towards the erection of colleges in the Northeast part of the State . . . but still more is now demanded, and I find myself under the necessity of defending one poor district against all the rest of the State of Tennessee. I shall do it; for I am dependent upon them for my station here; and so long as I hold a seat upon this floor I shall take their part against all who would exact upon them.

He continued that 305,000 acres of the best land in the district had gone to satisfy University of North Carolina warrants which "had been issued to Revolutionary soldiers, who were dead, and had no heirs living." He had opposed the measure when he was in the legislature but had been overruled. "Such a draft as that," he said "cut up in 25-acre warrants [at fifty cents an acre] cut us up at an awful rate [and] drained us of fifty-two thousand dollars in cash, . . . wrung

[21] The Ninth Congressional District included not only all of West Tennessee but also a few counties in southwestern Middle Tennessee—all of the Middle Tennessee part of the Reservation except sections of Maury (Polk's home county) and Hickman County. *Acts of Tennessee*, 1823, p. 5. It included eighteen counties; in 1830 only one other congressional district (in Illinois) in the nation had a larger population. Shackford, *David Crockett*, 82.

from the hands of the poor men, who live by the sweat of their brow."[22] He was utterly opposed to this,

> not because I am an enemy of education, but because the benefits of education are not to be dispensed with an equal hand. This college system went into practice to draw a line of demarcation between the two classes of society—it separated the children of the rich from the children of the poor. The children of my people never saw the inside of a college in their lives, and never are likely to do so.

He complained that the expenses of surveying these little tracts of land (added to the fifty cents an acre they were required to pay) pressed hard upon his constituents. "Sir, I have seen the last blanket of a poor, but honest and industrious family, sold under the hammer of the sheriff, to pay for that survey." Some of these occupants were "widows, whose husbands fell while fighting your battles on the frontiers." These poor, but honest people, he implied, deserved to receive their lands free of charge because of their pioneering services and because many of them had been compelled to move several times, from improvement to improvement, by holders of North Carolina warrants with superior claims. "I know their situation," he concluded.

> I have shared the hospitality of their cottages, . . . if their little all is to be wrested from them, for the purpose of State speculation; if a swindling machine is to be set up to strip them of what little the surveyors, and the colleges, and the warrant holders, have left them, it shall never be said that I sat by in silence, and refused, however humbly, to advocate their cause.[23]

Polk tried to minimize the differences between himself and Crockett, explaining that state laws already gave the occupants preference of entry. He would offer an amendment to his bill making that requirement more explicit. This he did and it was adopted after being further amended to provide that the entries should be made without charge. Polk also explained that the aim of his bill was to obtain funds for the support of common schools, not colleges as Crockett seemed to imply.[24] He objected to Crockett's amendment on the ground that the federal government had never sent any surveyors into Tennessee and that to inaugurate such activity would be extremely expensive; on

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[22] He apparently was unaware of his inconsistency; a few minutes earlier he had given the amount as $100,000.

[23] *Register of Debates,* 20 Cong., 1 sess., 161-63.

[24] In this connection it is of interest to note that when eventually, in 1846, after Polk had become president, the remaining lands were ceded to Tennessee, it was provided that the revenue should be used to support a college in West Tennessee. Whitney (ed.), *Land Laws,* 301-03.

the other hand, to use state surveyors would cause endless confusion. Crockett insisted that the use of state officials would cause no difficulty.

During the remainder of the debate on January 5 and after the debate was resumed on January 13, several northern and eastern members spoke in favor of Crockett's plan, expressing preference for the idea of a donation of federal land to individuals as against giving it to states. Among them were R. C. Mallary of Vermont, John Culpepper of North Carolina, John Woods of Ohio, and J. C. Weems of Maryland, in addition to R. A. Buckner of Kentucky. David was naive enough to believe that they were sincere in this support, whereas it seems that most of them were motivated by a desire to break up the Jackson party by luring Crockett out of its ranks and to prevent the passage of any bill regarding Tennessee lands. At the same time several members of the Tennessee delegation, especially John Blair and Jacob Isacks, vigorously denounced Crockett, charging him with disloyalty to the state in that his criticism of Tennessee and North Carolina land policies supplied the opposition with ammunition. They criticized the Crockett amendment for failing to safeguard the interests of the remaining North Carolina warrant holders (a failure which Crockett argued was the best feature of his bill) and because it made no provision for the support of education. Both of these matters were taken care of in the Polk measure, which they claimed would have passed had it not been for Crockett's opposition. As it was, the bill and its amendments were tabled for the session by a vote of 103 to 63.[25]

Crockett immediately, on January 14, sent a letter to the editor of the *Jackson Gazette* (and probably to other papers) in which he told of the overwhelming defeat of the Polk bill and expressed the hope that this would put an end to the opposition of his colleagues to his measure, which he insisted would have passed had it not been for that opposition. He acclaimed the support he had received from outside the state and said that the only opposition to his amendment had come from Tennesseans: "Messrs. Polk, Bell, Blair, [Pryor] Lea, [J. C.] Mitchell, and Isacks, all come out with long speeches against me." He continued, "If I am whipped, I will not stay whipped." The next day, January 15, he sent out a circular letter to his constituents, which was printed and, according to Shackford, probably written in

[25] *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., 163-65, 203-11.

part by Gales and Seaton, the anti-Jackson compilers of the *Register of Debates in Congress.* In it he explained his unwillingness to trust the Tennessee legislature to protect the interests of the occupants, and he still expressed his hopes that his measure would eventually be passed.[26]

The attitude of Polk and other members of the Tennessee delegation was quite different. Polk wrote a personal letter, not for publication, to D. M. Millen of Fayetteville, blaming Crockett for the defeat of his bill and charging him with associating "with our political enemies." He said Crockett had declared in the presence of John Blair and others that he would vote for any measure any member wished him to vote for if he would in exchange vote for his amendment and against the original (Polk) bill. As a result,

> Many *Adams Men* . . . seized upon the opportunity to use *Crockett* . . . for their own political purposes, and hence you see such men as *Buckner* of Ky. *Woods* of Ohio, Mallary of Vermont, Culpepper of N. C. making speeches for his proposition absurd as it was. . . . I forbear to comment in detail, on the disgraceful and disrespectful terms, in which Crockett was in the habit of speaking of his own State and its Legislature, further than to say that the whole delegation feel humiliated and can but regret that any one from our country, should have Cooperated with some of our bitterest and most vindictive political enemies. . . ."

It was also "whispered," Polk declared, that Crockett intended to vote for the anti-Jackson firm, Gales and Seaton, for public printers instead of Duff Green. If he did so, the Tennessee delegation would "notice him, under their own signatures."[27]

Thus it is evident that the beginning of Crockett's break with the Jackson party and of his gradual affiliation with the opposition came during this last, short session of the Adams administration, 1828-29, and was directly the result of the controversy over Tennessee lands. In his *Autobiography*[28] Crockett places the break a year later, during the session following his triumphant re-election in 1829, and gives a different cause, Jackson's dictatorial tendencies, which were a leading

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[26] *Jackson Gazette,* Feb. 7, 1829; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 93, citing copy of the circular in Blair and Rives Papers, Library of Congress.

[27] Quoted in *ibid.,* 100-01. Shackford does not give the exact date of the letter, which is in the Polk Papers, Library of Congress.

[28] Page 132. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 122-24, believes the break came as early as the summer of 1828, when, he thinks, Matthew St. Clair Clarke visited Crockett and negotiated a "compact" between him and the opposition leaders. His chief supporting evidence is that Crockett asked to be remembered to Clarke in a friendly letter to Gales and Seaton, April 18, 1829. Shackford has shown conclusively that Clarke was the author of the anonymous *Life and Adventures of Colonel David Crockett* (Cincinnati, 1833), which David disavowed but for which he undoubtedly supplied the material. *Ibid.,* 253-64.

basis for Whig attacks on Jackson when that work was published. The reason for the discrepancy is that Crockett realized the political necessity of campaigning as a Jackson man in 1829, and he kept his relations with the opposition as secret as possible.

One indication of a growth of friendly relations between Crockett and the National Republican leaders was the very obvious change in the attitude toward him of the newspapers of that party. Although Crockett did not come to Washington wearing his coonskin cap and hunting clothes, he was manifestly lacking in the social graces and probably was loud-mouthed and vulgar. The anti-Jackson newspapers delighted in lampooning his boorish behavior, and some of the Jackson papers did not hesitate to reprint much of the material.

A notable example is a story in which Crockett is seen describing his attendance at a dinner given by President Adams. He is represented as a complete boor; the account is liberally sprinkled with the phrase, "If I didn't (or it wasn't), I wish I may be d——d";[29] and at the end Crockett consumes the contents of six finger bowls.[30] After the story had been republished several times, Crockett, fearing its effects on his constituents, sent to several newspapers a well-written (obviously by someone else for him) letter to G. C. Verplanck of New York and James Clark of Kentucky, asking them to testify as to his conduct at the dinner, at which they were also in attendance. They considerately replied that the account was "destitute of every thing like the truth," and that they had observed nothing in his behavior "but what was marked with strictest propriety." According to Shackford,[31] these letters were published in the *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* January 9 and 23, 1829. The letters to Verplanck and Clark appeared in the *Jackson Gazette* January 31 and extracts from their replies on February 14, copied from the Savannah *Mercury.* The *Mercury* apologized for having accepted the slanderous statement as true and added that Crockett's "noble bearing on this occasion, has convinced us that he

[29] This apparently was the origin of the stereotype of the Crockett vernacular, "If I didn't, I wish I may be shot," used so frequently in biographies of him. *Ibid.,* 305 (n. 8). It was also used, incidentally, in his own letters, i.e., the one cited in n. 5 above.

[30] *Jackson Gazette,* Nov. 15, 1828, quoting *Lexington Bulletin* (n.d.). *Cf.* Shackford, *David Crockett,* 125, which says it first appeared in the *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* Nov. 25, 1828. A somewhat different version of Crockett's attendance at the dinner is in the anonymous (Clarke) *Life,* ch. 13.

[31] *David Crockett,* 125. Shackford is in error in saying that both Verplanck and Clark were Whigs (National Republicans). Verplanck did not desert Jackson until several years later.

is not only more of the *Man,* but more of the *gentleman,* than the miserable caricaturist who has attempted to render him ridiculous in the eyes of a virtuous and intelligent community."

The above indicates that the word probably was being passed down that the Adams administration papers should stop lampooning the Colonel. At the same time the Jacksonian leaders, becoming highly suspicious of Crockett, opened a campaign against his record in Tennessee newspapers. As a result David almost became involved in a duel with another member of the Tennessee delegation.

Pryor Lea, the congressman from the Knoxville district, wrote a letter very critical of Crockett to a friend who had it published in the *Knoxville Register,* February 4, without revealing the name of the author. The letter was republished in Duff Green's *United States Telegraph* on February 14. Crockett responded with a bitter reply in the *Telegraph,* February 16. One basis for the attack was Crockett's opposition to the use of an open vote in the selection of a public printer, which practically all the Jacksonians were supporting as a means of handicapping the undercover methods which it was alleged Gales and Seaton were using in an effort to recover that business from Duff Green. It was also charged that Crockett was one of the members who were being wined and dined by Gales in an attempt to influence their votes. What especially enraged David, however, was the assertion that he was principally responsible for the defeat of Polk's land bill and that, as Lea expressed it:

> He is estranged from his colleagues, associates chiefly with the other side, and has openly set himself up in market, offering to vote for any thing in order to get votes by it. He declared his object to be to defeat the whole bill, if he could not succeed with his amendment. . . .

In his reply Crockett exploded:

> *My vote in market!! I the cause of defeating a proposition for the benefit of my constituents?!!!* The kindness of my feelings toward the human family in general, would prompt me to give it some softer name, if I were not fully convinced that the author of this WICKED LIE, is some *contemptible wretch,* who seeks to gratify a secret feeling of revenge, which he dares not openly avow.

Crockett continued by calling the author a "*poltroon,* a *scoundrel,* and a *puppy,*" and saying that if he would "avow himself," he would condescend to take further notice of him. He was willing to hazard the opinion that he was safe at home "while with the immortal Jackson, I was putting my *life,* 'in market' and fighting to defend my country."

Pryor Lea replied with a communication to the *Telegraph* dated February 18 in which he cheerfully admitted authorship of the letter but at the same time insisted that every word in it was true (with the minor exception that he had learned that Crockett had dined with Seaton instead of Gales). He added some additional charges,[32] particularly that Crockett had boastfully shown to his colleagues a copy of the Knoxville *Enquirer,* a notorious anti-Jackson paper, which contained a favorable article about him. Most of his facts were based on personal knowledge, but for all of them he had corroborating statements from colleagues which he had authority to use at his discretion. Finally, he declared that he had cultivated kind feelings toward Crockett "as long as his conduct would permit," but he was compelled at length "to regard him as the willing instrument of political, sectional and personal malignities," prejudicial to the interests of his state.[33]

Crockett's reply, dated February 19 (which like his other published letters obviously was written for him by someone else, since it even contained at least one Latin word), began in an *"Et tu Brute"* vein. He had thought Lea to be his personal friend, and Lea continued to appear friendly while stabbing him in the back. "I had," he declared,

> a favorite measure before Congress; a measure which was intended to bless many a poor and helpless family. . . . You, sir, and others had fixed your affections upon a different system of policy, and because I endeavored to prevail upon *administration* men to stay the merciless hand of the swindling speculators, you cried out that I had joined the enemies of my party. . . . So frantic was your imagination, that it pursued me to *dinner portus,* where God knows I never went; and even fancied me on my knees imploring votes for my measure, when in fact I never bowed unless it was before my Creator.

He denied Lea's statement, each and every allegation "calculated in the smallest degree to impugn my honor or to exculpate yourself from the charge of having wantonly assailed me." He closed with a suggestion of a duel: "But if, as you intimate, they inspire you with

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[32] He also took note of Crockett's claim in his circular of January 14 (which Lea pointed out was printed by Gales and Seaton) that Lea's move for adjournment on January 5 was chiefly responsible for the failure of Crockett's amendment by insisting that Crockett had willingly acquiesed in that decision to adjourn. The *National Intelligencer,* edited by Gales and Seaton, replied on March 21 that Crockett had never dined with either of these two partners. They admitted the printing of Crockett's speech (circular) but they would also be willing to print Lea's if he requested it. Reprinted in *Jackson Gazette,* Mar. 21, 1829.

[33] This correspondence was reprinted in *ibid.,* Mar. 14, 1829. The fence-sitting editor, C. D. McLean, merely added the comment that Crockett was able to manage his own matters in his own way and he would let him do so.

'personal feelings,' and require 'personal satisfaction,' you know where to find me."

Lea's rejoinder, dated February 23, pointed out that the words "private satisfaction" were in Crockett's correspondence rather than in his; Crockett had turned it around. Thus a duel was avoided. Lea quoted extensively from letters in his possession sustaining his allegations. This included a discussion by one of the writers with Crockett about the great difference between Crockett's speech as delivered and as reported by Gales and Seaton in the *Debates.* David admitted that the reporter "made me a much better speech than I made in the House, or ever could make." He was profoundly grateful and planned to get 1,000-1,500 copies for distribution back home, "even though he had never seen a word of it, until he saw it in the paper." Lea concluded:

> I then believed and still do, that some of those who had been our opponents, and seemed most active in favor of Colonel Crockett's amendment were deceiving him, and that their real object was to induce him to pursue a course which would defeat the bill entirely, enable them to speak in disrespectful terms of our State, and induce him to act with them in [the] future.[34]

During the congressional campaign of 1829 the Jacksonians, under the leadership of James K. Polk, did their utmost to defeat Crockett for re-election. They first brought out against him the prominent Pleasant M. Miller, who had recently moved from Knoxville to the Western District. But Miller broke with Jackson over his appointment policy as president and withdrew.[35] The Jacksonians then had to fall back on Adam Alexander, whom Crockett had defeated two years before.[36] In an effort to counteract the influence of Crockett's land bill, they inspired communications to the papers by a person signed "Occupant" denouncing Crockett's amendment and expressing a preference for the Polk measure and the land laws enacted by the Tennessee general assembly.[37] That these articles were not in accord with the

[34] *Ibid.,* Mar. 21, 28, 1829, quoting *United States Telegraph.* The editor of the *Gazette* was still rather noncommittal, but added a reference to the publication of sundry "certificates" from members of Congress which clearly exonerated Crockett from any corruption in relation to the land bill.

[35] *Ibid.,* Apr. 4, 18, 1829; Sellers, *Polk, Jacksonian,* 139.

[36] On April 18 Crockett wrote Gales and Seaton that he had "backed out three opponents," and he expected Alexander to back out, too; if he did not, "I will beat him five thousand votes[.] So Says the people." He also expressed the hope that Lea and Polk would be defeated in their districts. It was in this letter he told of Sam Houston's resignation as governor and of his telling him he "was going . . . up the arkensaw and live with the Indians . . . the Ballance of his days. . . ." Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 125.

[37] *Jackson Gazette,* Mar. 21, 28, 1829.

views of the majority of the squatters is indicated by Crockett's defeat of Alexander and two minor candidates by a considerable margin.[38] Crockett was also able to point to his efforts to have roads opened into the Chickasaw country in Mississippi from Bolivar and Memphis and still another mail route provided for his constituents.[39]

This campaign was an especially dirty one. As early as March 7 there was published in the *Jackson Gazette* an "announcement" for Congress by an imaginary "Dennis Brulgrudery," which was a clever, thinly-veiled lampooning of Crockett's alleged campaign methods. Other, more hostile papers, carried more direct slurs. The *Gazette* at length republished from the *Missouri Republican,* after the campaign was over, a story which described Crockett as replying to the charge that he was an adulterer, a gambler, and a drunkard in such a way as to humorously admit the truth of the charge. The editor preceded the story with this comment:

> For some months we have noticed that several editors in the different parts of the Union were disposed to make themselves merry at the expense of our representative in Congress. All his friends admit that he is somewhat eccentric, and that from a deficit in education, his stump speeches are not famous for polish and refinement—yet they are plain, forcible and generally respectful. That he ever uttered the expressions contained in the following article . . . we presume none of his constituents will believe. . . .[40]

When Crockett returned to Washington for the convening of the Twenty-first Congress in December, 1829, Andrew Jackson had already been in the White House since March 4. Jackson's views on public issues, however, were still largely unknown; but after Congress began legislating and the President had to sign or veto bills this uncertainty rapidly evaporated. As Jackson's views became definite some of his supporters were disappointed and began covertly to oppose him, as Crockett had already done during the preceding session. Eventually, they developed into a faction called Southern Whigs, but until the last possible moment, because of Jackson's power, they still claimed

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[38] As given in *ibid.,* October 2, 1829, Crockett received 8,525 to 5,000 for Alexander. *Cf.* Crockett's statement in *Autobiography* (p. 133) that his majority was 3,585. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 127, quotes from Keating, *Memphis and Shelby County* the very incomplete vote given in the *Gazette,* August 15.

[39] RG 233.

[40] *Jackson Gazette,* Aug. 15, 1829. It may have been these friendly words concerning Crockett, even though the paper had not actually supported him, which were at least in part responsible for the *Gazette's* being deprived a few months later of its public printing business by the Jackson administration. *Ibid.,* Mar. 27, 1830. *Cf.* Shackford, *David Crockett,* 126; and Keating, *Memphis and Shelby County,* 176ff.

to be loyal to Jackson personally—or to the original Jackson, as he was before he was led astray, they claimed, by bad advice.

Again, Crockett was in the vanguard; gradually his criticism of Jackson and Jacksonians became more open and substantial. As early as March, 1830, in the same letter to Editor McLean of the *Jackson Gazette* in which he disclaimed any responsibility for McLean's loss of the public printing, he declared:

> To GEN JACKSON I am a firm and undeviating friend. I have fought under his command—and am proud to own that he has been my commander. I have loved him, and in the sincerity of my heart I say that I still love "him"; but to be compelled to love every one who for purposes of self aggrandizement, *pretend* to rally around the "Jackson Standard," is what I never can submit to. The people of this country, like the humble boatsman on the Mississippi, ought to begin to look out for *Breakers!* The *fox* is about: let the *roost* be guarded.[41]

The chief cause of Crockett's dissatisfaction was still the refusal of the Tennessee delegation to support his land bill. Crockett succeeded in December, 1829, over Polk's objections, in having the whole Tennessee land question shifted from Polk's Committee on Public Lands to a special committee of which he was chairman. He announced that he had "taken charge" of the question, a statement which led Isacks to protest vigorously against the implication that Crockett was the only member from Tennessee who had any interest in the subject. The special committee, of which Polk and several easterners were also members, attempted to reconcile various points of view. It submitted a bill giving to Tennessee enough land in the Congressional Reservation to make up for the deficiency in school lands, to be sold for not less than twelve and one half cents per acre, and with all the proceeds going to the common school fund. Occupants were to be given preference of entry for 160 acres at twelve and one half cents per acre, with a year to pay. Crockett became involved in a controversy with the North Carolina representatives, and at length consented to an amendment which would protect the rights of the holders of North Carolina warrants. Even though the bill had the grudging support of most of the Tennessee delegation, it failed of adoption on May 3 by a vote of 90 to 69. Crockett attempted to have the vote reconsidered, with the aim of presenting a substitute which would provide for pre-emption rights for occupants to 200 acres at twelve and one half cents per acre with two

[41] *Jackson Gazette,* Mar. 27, 1830.

years to pay, but reconsideration was defeated without a division. With the exception of Cave Johnson, the Tennessee delegation opposed reconsideration; and Crockett wrote the editor of the *Jackson Gazette* on May 7 that he had declared his independence against them and would "set up shop for myself."

During the second session of the Twenty-first Congress, 1830-31, Crockett introduced this substitute bill, but the Tennessee delegation, voting with eastern members, succeeded in keeping it from coming to a vote, since the bill provided that the proceeds from the sale of the land would go into the federal treasury instead of to the state of Tennessee. In a circular letter to his constituents, dated February 28, 1831, Crockett blamed the "Jackson party" for the bill's defeat and charged that this group was trying to drive him out of Congress in order to "get a man in my place who will suit their purpose better" and who "would run at their bidding and do as they direct."[42]

One of the public issues concerning which President Jackson disappointed many of his supporters was the question of federal aid to internal improvements. Although Jackson as a United States senator in 1824-25 had voted, with some states' rights reservations, for several improvement measures, his veto as president of the Maysville Road Bill in May, 1830, revealed his basic strict construction stand, the influence of the anti-improvement Martin Van Buren, and Jackson's desire to avoid the tendency to log-rolling and excessive federal expenditures which would postpone the paying off of the national debt. Thus he blasted the hopes of many improvements advocates, in Tennessee and elsewhere, who expected federal appropriations for the improvement of transportation facilities. The Tennessee legislature of 1829-30 had sent memorials to Congress in favor of federal aid for the improvement of the navigability of the Cumberland River, the building of a canal around the Muscle Shoals, and the construction of a national road from Washington to New Orleans.[43]

The last-named project—in the form of a bill introduced by Joseph Hemphill of Pennsylvania providing for federal construction

[42] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, May 8, 22, 1830; *Register of Debates*, 21 Cong., 1 sess., 474, 480-81, 869-70, 873; *ibid.*, 2 sess., 383, 391, 418, 419; Sellers, *Polk, Jacksonian*, 128; Shackford, *David Crockett*, 101--07; *David Crockett's Circular to the Citizens of the Ninth Congressional District in the State of Tennessee*, February 28, 1831 (n.p., n.d.). A copy is in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

[43] Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (Knoxville, 1939), 45-46, 62-66.

of a national road from Buffalo to Washington to New Orleans—was debated to an adverse decision before Jackson revealed his stand by his Maysville Road veto, but it seems that he brought some pressure on his friends to vote against it. Five Tennessee members, led by Polk, opposed the measure; but four—Crockett, Blair, Isacks, and James Standifer—influenced by the interests of their constituents who hoped that the road would pass through their districts, supported it. Crockett, however, attempted unsuccessfully to amend the bill to have the road stop at Memphis, which he claimed would save $750,000. He also expressed the fear that the expenditures for internal improvement might prevent the lowering of tariff duties on the necessities of life such as salt, sugar, and coffee, which he had promised his constituents to obtain. He had come to Congress "hot for the road," but he confessed that he was "getting quite cool on the subject of spending money for the gratification of certain gentlemen, who happen to have different views from those I entertain." But he had discovered "a determination to squander the public funds in some way; and, therefore, I should strive to 'come in for snacks.' . . . Some money certainly ought to be destributed to the west." He repeated that although he was an internal improvement man, he could not go the "whole hog" but would be willing to go as far as Memphis. However, even though his Memphis amendment was not adopted, he voted for the bill, which was rejected on April 14 by a vote of 105 to 88.[44]

The real test on the internal improvement issue came in connection with the Maysville Road Bill, which would have authorized the federal government to subscribe for stock in a Kentucky turnpike company which was to build a road from Maysville to Lexington as one segment of a highway from the Ohio River to the Gulf of Mexico. Probably because of his close association with the friends of Henry Clay, who were the leading promoters of the project, Crockett voted not only for the bill on its original passage but also joined forces in the unsuccessful effort to override Jackson's veto.[45]

During the second session of this Congress, 1830-31, Crockett was

[44] *Ibid.; Register of Debates,* 21 Cong., 1 sess., 656-65, 692-700, 709-18, 776-87, 790. Crockett's speech was published in the *Jackson Gazette,* May 15, 1830. The editor made no comment, but later he expressed approval of Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road Bill. *Ibid.,* July 31, 1830.

[45] *Register of Debates,* 21 Cong., 1 sess., 843, 1147. It is also probable that he did not wish to miss a chance to strike back at Andrew Jackson.

even more consistent in his pro-improvement and anti-Jackson position. He spoke at length in favor of the appropriation of $50,000 for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and criticised the states' rights argument against it on the ground that no one state could undertake such a colossal project. When Polk attempted to have authority for certain surveys stricken from the bill, intimating that otherwise a presidential veto would be certain, Crockett objected. He declared that he had supported the administration when it came into power, but when Jackson had departed from the principles he professed before the electorate, "I quit him. I am yet a Jackson man in principles, but not in name. . . . I shall insist upon it that I am still a Jackson man, but General Jackson is not; he has become a Van Buren man."[46]

One of the most peculiar stands taken by Crockett during the Twenty-first Congress, but one quite illustrative of his interest in the poor as opposed to the rich, was his introduction on February 25, 1830, of a resolution to abolish the Military Academy at West Point. The occasion was the use of obstructive tactics against a resolution of enquiry concerning conditions at the Academy, together with Crockett's awareness that the Tennessee legislature had considered a resolution instructing the state's congressmen to oppose appropriations for the institution. His chief arguments, in the resolution and in his speech supporting it, were that only the sons of the rich and influential could get into the Academy, and that the bounty of the government should go to the poor rather than the rich. Also, the War of 1812 had shown that a man "could fight the battles of his country, and lead his country's armies, without being educated at West Point," as shown by the success of his own immediate commanders, including General Jackson. As even Crockett expected, the resolution was laid on the table.[47]

The most controversial position taken by Crockett during his

[46] *Ibid.*, 21 Cong., 2 sess., 788-89. He also declared that he would rather be "politically dead than [like Jackson] hypocritically immortalized." During the Twenty-first Congress, Crockett also introduced resolutions in favor of two new mail routes in West Tennessee and for an inquiry into the feasibility of a canal from the head of the Muscle Shoals to the Hatchie River above Bolivar. RG 233.

[47] *Ibid.; Register of Debates*, 21 Cong., 1 sess., 553-54, 583-84; *Jackson Gazette*, Mar. 27, 1830. An interesting discussion of the growth of the tradition that American soldiers, embued with the principles of democracy, did not have to be trained is in J. W. Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1955), 3-29. Crockett had more support—the entire Tennessee delegation—in his opposition to a bill for Revolutionary War pensions because it excluded volunteers and militiamen. *Register of Debates*, 21 Cong., 1 sess., 634-35.

second term, and the one which was the most damaging to his political fortunes, was his opposition to Jackson's Indian policy. To facilitate the removal of the Indians living east of the Mississippi to the western part of the Louisiana Purchase, John Bell, early in 1830, introduced a bill to appropriate $500,000 to be available for the payment of the expenses of removal whenever any tribes should agree to an exchange of lands and migration westward. When the bill was finally passed in the House on May 24, Crockett was the only Tennessean to vote against it. Whether or not he also delivered a speech against it is still a question. There is no mention of any Crockett speech on the subject in the *Register of Debates,* but about a month after the bill's passage there was printed in the *Jackson Gazette* a speech of David Crockett's on the Indian question as delivered in Congress, May 24, 1830. During the same year, "A Sketch of the Remarks of Hon. David Crockett . . . ," but with the date of delivery given as May 19, was included in a published volume, *Speeches on the Passage of the Bill for the Removal of the Indians Delivered in the Congress of the United States, April and May, 1830* (Boston, 1830). Shackford is of the opinion that someone had written a speech for Crockett which he did not get around to delivering.[48] It is equally possible that he actually did deliver it but prevailed upon his friends Gales and Seaton to leave it out of the published *Debates* as a means of keeping his constituents in the dark as to the position he had taken. If so, his friends "doublecrossed" him and let it out to the press.

In the speech, whether delivered or not, Crockett said that it might have been expected he would be content with a "silent vote," but situated as he was in relation to his colleagues, it was his duty to explain his motives. He admitted that he did not know a man within five hundred miles of his home who would give a similar vote, but insisted that he would give his with a clear conscience. His chief objections to the bill were that it placed half a million dollars in the hands of the executive to use without congressional control, and that he did not wish to see "the poor remnants of a once powerful people" forced to move against their will. He represented four counties on the border of the Chickasaw country, and nothing could induce him to vote to drive those Indians west of the Mississippi. Also, he knew that many Chero-

[48] *Jackson Gazette,* June 19[26], 1830; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 116.

kees would prefer "death at our homes" to moving to the West. The bill opened the way to "oppression with a vengeance"; and although he had been told that he would be "prostrated" if he voted against it, he would have the consolation of conscience. If he did not represent his constituents as they wished, the error would be in his head and not in his heart. The editor of the *Gazette* commented along with the printing of the speech that he regretted Crockett's stand and expressed the opinion that a large majority of his constituents disagreed with him on the issue.

A few months later Crockett had another opportunity to show his friendship for the Indians. He presented a petition on behalf of three Cherokees who were being deprived of some reserved lands to which they were entitled and had it referred to the Committee on Claims despite the effort of Clement C. Clay of Alabama to have it sent to the more unfriendly Committee on Public Lands.[49] It is perhaps significant that Crockett never denied making a speech against the Indian bill, and in his circular letter of February 28, 1831, and in his *Autobiography* (p. 133) he admitted and attempted to justify his vote against the measure.

During the second session of the Twenty-first Congress, Crockett seems to have underestimated the decline of Jackson's popularity and to have come to the conclusion that he could oppose him more openly. Moreover, by this time his relations with the opposition had become so well known that he could no longer hide behind his pro-Jackson mask. In a letter to a Virginia friend at the beginning of the session he confidently expressed the opinion that Clay's supporters had a near majority in Congress.[50] On February 13, 1831, he wrote to a Tennessean, A. M. Hughes, evidencing his delight at the confusion within the Democratic party resulting from the break between Jackson and John C. Calhoun. It was in this letter that he also used his famous "dog-collar" analogy. He said Jackson's proscriptive policy reminded him of

> Some large dogs I have seen here with their Collers on with letters engraved on the Coller *my dog*—& the mans name on the Coller. I have not got a Coller Round my neck marked my dog with the

[49] *Register of Debates*, 21 Cong., 2 sess., 543. Shackford, *David Crockett*, 118, implies erroneously that this Clay was Henry Clay of Kentucky.

[50] Quoted in *ibid.*, 128.

> name of Andrew Jackson on it—because I would not take the Coller Round my neck I was herld from their party[.][51]

Naturally, Crockett's defection from the Jackson party became the major issue in his campaign for re-election in 1831. As early as November, 1830, it was known that the Jacksonians had selected as his opponent William Fitzgerald, a lawyer of Dresden, Weakley County, and a near neighbor of Crockett's. During the summer of 1830 a considerable amount of publicity was given in Tennessee newspapers to evidences of Crockett's "bolt."[52] Finally, on November 20 and 27, there was printed in the *Jackson Gazette* a lengthy defense of Crockett over the signature "Madison," who claimed it was Jackson who had changed principles rather than Crockett. In defense of David's vote on the Indian question he declared that Crockett would be willing to vote for an appropriation for Indian removal if Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi would repeal their laws extending jurisdiction over the Indian country or if the general government would protect the Indians from those laws. Finally, Fitzgerald was denounced as an unknown quantity, whereas Crockett was praised as a "*well tried* public servant" who had given his all on behalf of the poor occupants of the Western District.

The editor of the *Gazette,* realizing that he would now have to make a definite choice, departed from his previous moderate criticism of Crockett in favor of a denunciation in scathing terms. "Madison," he declared, was an "inveterate Clayite" who was attempting to "divert the scrutiny of the public eye from the notorious apostacy and flagrant political indiscretion of Col. Crockett." He also printed a detailed refutation by "A Farmer of Madison" who apparently was aware of the efforts of the opposition papers to build up Crockett on a national scale as a legendary figure of supernatural proportions comparable to "Nimrod Wildfire" in the play, "Lion of the West." Comparing Fitzgerald to Crockett, he said:

> It is true, he can't "whip his weight in wild cats," nor "leap the Mississippi," nor "mount a rainbow and slide off into eternity and back at pleasure," nor do we believe he can compete at all with the Col. in any *such* feats. But this we believe, that Mr. Fitzgerald will make a better legislator; that he will as far excel Col. Crockett upon the

[51] Quoted in *ibid.,* 118-19; also printed in "Letters of Davy Crockett," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), V (1900), 43-44.

[52] *Jackson Gazette,* Aug. 14, 21, 1830. In the latter issue a Dresden correspondent to a Kentucky paper was quoted, July 4, as giving Crockett's residence as Weakley County and saying he had left the Jackson ranks.

> floor of Congress, as the Col. does him in the character of a *mountebank* . . . that he will command more respect as a man, reflect more credit upon his constituents, and be more efficient as a representative.[53]

It is not surprising, therefore, that Crockett found it necessary in his circular letter of February, 1831, to take a definite anti-Jackson position. He criticized the President for extravagance in government, cruelty to the Indians, opposition to internal improvements, appointment of members of Congress to high offices, and of seeking re-election after a former declaration that a president should not serve longer than four years.[54] Jackson, in turn, redoubled his efforts to bring about Crockett's defeat. In April, 1831, he wrote to Samuel Jackson Hays, "I trust for the honor of the state, your Congressional District will not disgrace themselves longer by sending that profligate man Crockett back to Congress."[55]

The Jacksonian efforts were successful and Fitzgerald was elected by a small margin with his large majority in Madison County being responsible for his victory. Crockett later gave as the chief explanation of his defeat the claim that his lawyer enemies made appointments for him throughout the district to clear up the Jackson question, refused to give him any notice of those appointments, and when he failed to show up they charged that he was afraid to attend and subjected him to scurrilous attack.[56] Whether such a Crockett-type trick actually was used against him is of course uncertain; but a more logical explanation of his defeat is that the name Jackson still held too much magic for even Crockett to counter it successfully. His "notorious" vote against the Indian bill also injured him greatly, and despite his valiant efforts he had not been able to accomplish anything tangible on behalf of the

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[53] *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 1830. The "Farmer" also pointed out that the Indian bill which Crockett opposed would help the poor squatters of West Tennessee, since the removal of the Indians would open up new lands for white settlement and reduce the price of North Carolina warrants. Adam Huntsman, writing for the *Gazette's* successor, *The Southern Statesman,* Mar. 12, 1831, also ridiculed Davy's supernatural feats. Emma Inman Williams, *Historic Madison: The Story of Jackson and Madison County, Tennessee* (Jackson, 1946), 77. By this time the name of David Crockett was frequently coupled in the press with that of "Wildfire," the leading character in James Kirke Paulding's play. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 253-54. The play was also given under the titles "The Kentuckian" and "A Kentuckian Visits the North."

[54] It is probable that this letter was written in collaboration with Thomas Chilton, the anti-Jackson representative from Kentucky who was soon to be the ghost writer of David's *Autobiography.* Shackford, *David Crockett,* 128-29.

[55] Quoted in Williams, *Historic Madison,* 403.

[56] *Autobiography,* 133-34; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 131-33.

squatters.[57] When the next Congress convened Crockett contested the election, claiming fraud in the counting of votes in the county of Madison which he attempted to substantiate with depositions of several election officials. The House Committee on Elections, however, accepted the official returns which gave Fitzgerald a majority of 586 out of 16,482 votes cast.[58]

Very little is known about what David did during the two years he was out of Congress. To pay a debt for which he had been sued by John Shaw, he sold a Negro slave and twenty-five acres of land to his brother-in-law, George Patton, on May 19, 1831.[59] This acreage included his home in Weakley County; so on August 22 he wrote to a Dr. Calvin Jones proposing to lease twenty acres of adjoining land in Carroll County which he planned to improve and hoped later to buy. At the time of this letter (which he penned himself) he did not know the result of the election but expected to be defeated.[60] On January 9, 1833, he was appointed along with George Patton as executor of the estate of his deceased father-in-law, Robert Patton. Two days earlier he had written to Richard Smith, cashier of the Second Bank of the United States, asking for an extension of time on a loan. He used as an argument for such indulgence the claim that he had favored a renewal of the bank's charter in the campaign of 1831, and he hoped to be back in Congress in 1833 in time to vote for such a measure.[61]

Crockett's hope materialized, for he defeated Fitzgerald in the election of 1833 despite, or possibly in part because of, a legislative gerrymandering of his congressional district to his disadvantage. The old, large Ninth District was divided, but Madison County, which had repeatedly shown its hostility to David, was left in his new Twelfth

[57] *Ibid.* Shackford argues that the violence and extremity of Crockett's position, his monomania against anything Jacksonian, was chiefly responsible for his defeat. He also gives credence to reports published years later that Crockett lost his sense of balance and good sportsmanship in the campaign, threatened to thrash Fitzgerald if he repeated certain charges against him, and on one occasion was prevented from attempting it only by Fitzgerald's levelling a pistol at his breast.

[58] RG 233; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Washington), XLI (1831-32), 150, 322.

[59] According to Shackford, *David Crockett*, 136, both the bill of sale and the deed in Weakley County records bear over Crockett's signature the motto: "Be allways sure you are right then Go, ahead,"—"the first positive link we have between David and that motto which has become so inseparably associated with his name. . . ."

[60] He again used the phrase, "I would rather be politically buried than to be hypocriticalley imortalized." *Ibid.*, 133, 305 (n. 24). The letter has been printed in Williams, *Historic Madison*, 422, without the notations on it indicating that he took the lease and that the land lay in Carroll County.

[61] Shackford, *David Crockett*, 134-37, citing Weakley County records and Crockett letter owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

District even though its geographic boundaries had to be bent far out of shape to achieve that result.[62] The move seems to have boomeranged and created public sympathy for David. As expressed in his *Autobiography,*

> However, . . . the people of the district, and of Madison County among the rest, seemed disposed to prove to Mr. Fitzgerald and the Jackson Legislature, that they were not to be transferred like hogs, and horses, and cattle in the market; and they determined that I shouldn't be broke down. . . .[63]

Another Jacksonian tactic against Crockett was the use of the talents of a shrewd West Tennessee lawyer, Adam Huntsman (nicknamed "Black Hawk"), who wrote and published a series of "Chronicles" in biblical language which questioned David's motives in his fight for his land bill and in his support of Henry Clay against Jackson.[64]

Although Crockett credited the more favorable attitude toward him on the part of the newspapers with contributing to his victory,[65] the major factor in his success was the fact that the anti-Jackson movement in the state had reached a much greater height in 1833 than in 1831. Supplementing the previous antagonism caused by Jackson's opposition to federal aid to internal improvements, his acceptance of a moderately protective tariff in 1832 and his vigorous crushing of South Carolina's effort to nullify that law had aroused the anger of many states' rights cotton planters. Also, his war against the Second Bank of the United States, although he won re-election on that issue, was building a backfire of resentment among the legal and mercantile interests in the state.[66]

Following the election the anti-Jackson party resumed its efforts to build up Crockett's reputation on a national scale, and a Mississippi convention, according to Crockett, even asked him if he would be willing to run for the presidency of the United States.[67] The National Repub-

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[62] *Ibid.,* 142; Tennessee *Public Acts,* 1832, p. 14.
[63] *Autobiography,* 135.
[64] *Ibid.;* Shackford, *David Crockett,* 139-41.
[65] *Autobiography,* 135.
[66] Thomas P. Abernethy, "The Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XII (Mar., 1926), 504-22; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Who Were the Southern Whigs?" *American Historical Review,* LIX (Jan., 1954), 335-46. Resentment against Jackson's dictatorial tendencies also played its part. Powell Moore, "The Political Background of the Revolt Against Jackson in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (1932), 45-57.
[67] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 143-44. This perhaps explains David's references to his presidential aspirations in his *Autobiography.* No contemporary evidence of such a Mississippi proposal, other than David's own word, has been found.

licans were now calling themselves more consistently Whigs and were trying to lure into the fold as many anti-Jackson elements as possible, including dissatisfied Democrats. Crockett cooperated by supporting more vigorously than before all Whig measures, hoping that it would facilitate passage of his land bill, which he had introduced again at the beginning of the session. The bill, with all related documents, was referred to a select committee of which Crockett was chairman, but again his optimism for its passage was unfounded.[68]

The Whig policy which Crockett most actively supported during this session was the effort to secure a renewal of the charter of the Second Bank of the United States. It included the denunciation of the removal by Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury of the government deposits from the bank while Congress was not in session, a means which Jackson adopted to destroy the institution. Crockett's support of the bank was not due entirely to his Whig affiliations but also, as we have seen, to gratitude for loans of money and extensions of time granted for repayment—so necessary in his usually straightened financial circumstances. At lease one loan, it seems, was wiped off the books by Nicholas Biddle, the bank's president.[69] On February 24, 1834, Crockett spoke very heatedly in the House in favor of the printing for distribution of a memorial from Berks County, Pennsylvania, in favor of a return of government deposits to the bank. He also wrote letters to his constituents denouncing Jackson and his anti-bank policy.[70]

Among his letters during the early part of this session was one to his son John Wesley in which he mentioned the preparation of his *Autobiography* and his projected tour of the North and East:

> I am engaged in writing a history of my life and I have Compleated one hundred and ten pages and I have Mr. Chlton [*sic*] to correct it as I write it. . . .
>
> I may take a trip through the eastern States during the recess of Congress and Sell the Book[.] a great many have preswaded me to take a towar through the Eastern states that my presents will make thousands of people buy my book. . . .[71]

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[68] RG 233; *Congressional Globe,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., 37. He also proposed a mail route for Troy, in Obion County, a town which Fitzgerald had ignored. *Ibid.,* 302; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 147, 153-54.

[69] *Ibid.,* 134-35.

[70] *Ibid.,* 147-55; *Cong. Globe,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., 197; *Register of Debates,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., 2782.

[71] Jan. 10, 1834. Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 148. Shackford suggests that since no letter to Mrs. Crockett has survived, whereas there are several to David's children, and because he usually gave his address on letters as Weakley County while his

Actually, as we have seen, Chilton did much more than "correct" Crockett's manuscript. Also, the "towar" was taken while Congress was still in session instead of during a recess, which was a serious political blunder in view of the fact that a leading charge brought against Crockett in 1831 was that he had missed many roll calls in Congress. The purpose of the trip was not mainly to increase the sales of the *Autobiography* but was a part of a deep-laid Whig scheme to exploit Crockett's reputation for party purposes. Another part of the plan was the publication of *An Account of Colonel Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East . . .* (Philadelphia, 1835), as party propaganda. A specialist in American literature describes this work as a

> clever and amusing campaign document, it is a masterpiece of Whig strategy to gull the simple. The loquacious Davy joined heartily with his managers to cash in on his reputation . . . and he seems never to have realized how grossly he was being exploited. . . .[72]

Crockett, of course, did not write the *Tour;* he merely helped collect notes and newspaper accounts of the receptions and speeches and turned them over to Representative William Clark of Pennsylvania, who did the actual writing.[73] On the tour, leaving Washington on April 25, he visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. He delivered many Whig speeches, written for him, to "admiring throngs," attended plays, visited places of public interest, and received presents, including a watch engraved with his motto, "Go ahead." In Boston he refused to visit Harvard College, fearing he would be made a "Doctor of Laws," a title he admitted he did not deserve because he had not earned it. He did visit, however, the cotton mills at Lowell and seems to have been favorably impressed by the management, the quality of the cloth manufactured, and the happy and prosperous condition of the young girl employees. He even seems to have been converted to the principle of a protective tariff, a complete reversal of his low tariff views when he entered Congress. Thus he became guilty of the same crime with which he repeatedly charged Andrew Jackson. Fortunately, however, he did not have an opportunity to vote on any

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wife and family were living in Gibson County, Crockett and his wife may have been estranged and maintained separate domiciles. *Ibid.*, 149.

[72] V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents of American Thought,* 2 vols. (New York, 1927), II, 176; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 154-57. The tour extended to three weeks instead of the "couple" indicated in the *Autobiography,* and Crockett's mention of a "pain in my breast" was a rather flimsy attempt at justification. *The Account of Colonel Crockett's Tour . . .* is reprinted in the Scribner (1923) edition of the *Autobiography,* 137-209.

[73] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 157, 176, 184-87.

tariff bill during his last term in Congress. Otherwise the story he told in New York and apparently repeated during the campaign of 1835 in Tennessee would not have been so meaningful. To explain his departure from the Jacksonian fold, he used the analogy of a boy who was told to plow across the field to a red cow. When criticized for his crooked furrows, he explained, "you told me to plough to the red cow, and I kept after her, but she always kept moving."[74]

On the tour Crockett apparently became more favorably impressed with easterners and they with him. The eastern editors, whose previous knowledge about David had been gleaned largely from the tall tales which had been broadcast about him, now wrote that those stories were ridiculous and expressed admiration for the authentic Crockett,[75] but it must be admitted that their Whig politics probably colored their view. The New Englanders' previous attitude toward Crockett and Tennessee is illustrated by the story of the Massachusetts congressman who saw a farmer driving some mules down Pennsylvania Avenue and called out to David, "Hello, there, Crockett, here's a lot of your constituents on parade. Where are they going?" Crockett quickly replied: "They are going to Massachusetts to teach school."[76]

Crockett returned to Washington May 13 or 14, in time to participate in the last few weeks of the congressional session. His head turned by the adulation he had received from eastern Whigs, he became even more violent in his anti-Jackson speeches, especially in connection with the bank issue. He had to be called to order several times in his unsuccessful attempt to prevent the tabling of a Senate joint resolution censuring Jackson for his firing of a secretary of the treasury without Senate consent, an act which had made possible the removal of the deposits from the bank. According to Shackford, his hatred of everything Jacksonian even carried him so far as to lead him to lose sight of the interests of his constituents. His own political future depended on the passage of his land bill, which he admitted to a Tennessee friend might be prevented by the lack of time at the end of the session. Yet he violently opposed a Polk motion to extend the adjournment date from June 16 to June 30. It is possible, however, that he was

[74] *Ibid.*, 156-60, 201-02; *Autobiography*, 158, 180-86.

[75] C. Grant Loomis, "Davy Crockett Visits Boston," *The New England Quarterly* (Orono, Me.), XX (Mar., 1947), 397, 399.

[76] "Instruction from the South," *The Taylor-Trotwood Magazine* (Nashville, 1905-1910), XI (Oct., 1910), 628, from *Harper's Weekly*.

merely doing his best to advance Whig strategy. When another bill he desired for the benefit of his constituents—an appropriation of $60,000 for the improvement of the Hatchie, Forked Deer, and Obion rivers—failed to pass, he aroused a vigorous protest by suggesting that all appropriation bills be tabled since "A majority of this House has determined, by their votes, that Andrew Jackson shall be the Government." Later, he asked for the appropriation of $30,000, but even this was denied.[77]

As a counterweight to these failures he hoped to make use of his increased notoriety as a national figure.[78] Therefore, he resumed his tour the day before Congress adjourned and returned to Philadelphia, where he received a fine rifle on July 1. On the fourth he participated in a mammoth Independence Day celebration, sharing the platform with Daniel Webster. After securing a gift of powder from the DuPont powder makers, he departed for home on July 6, going by train to Pittsburgh and then taking a steamer down the Ohio.[79] He stopped briefly in Columbia, Pennsylvania, where a newspaper editor commented:

> He talked warmly on politics, and did not seem pleased with the Jackson men of Lancaster, for putting up a hickory pole. He went "ahead," after a delay of fifteen minutes, and leaving persons who expected to see a wild man of the woods, clothed in a hunting shirt and covered with hair, a good deal surprised at having viewed a respectable looking personage, dressed decently and wearing his locks after the fashion of our plain German farmers.[80]

When Crockett returned to Washington for the short session of the Twenty-third Congress, beginning in December, 1834, he had the opportunity, unusual for him since the first session of the Nineteenth, to work with a majority of the Tennessee delegation in a common project. This was the effort to forestall Jackson's attempt to name Martin Van Buren as his successor. A large part of the Tennessee delegation, in cooperation with the "nullificationist" opponents of

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[77] *Register of Debates,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., 4327, 4467, 4586-88, 4701-02; *Cong. Globe,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., 413, 445, 469; Crockett to William Hack, June 9, 1834, "Some Pioneer Letters," *American Historical Magazine,* II (Apr., 1897), 179-80; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 160-66.

[78] Shackford calls attention to the fact that *Niles' Weekly Register* and other Whig papers devoted an increasing amount of space to Crockett's activities, especially during and after the time of his tour. *Ibid.,* 160.

[79] *Ibid.,* 167-70. Apparently he called this gun "Pretty Betsy" to distinguish it from the original "Betsy" which had been his companion during his many hunting exploits. *Ibid.,* 309 (n. 19).

[80] *Ibid.,* 167, citing W. Frederick Worner, "David Crockett in Columbia," Lancaster County Historical Society *Papers,* XXVI, 176-77.

Jackson, brought out the name of the popular Hugh Lawson White of Knoxville, one of Tennessee's two senators, as an alternative choice. This was done by means of a "caucus" of the Tennessee delegation in December, 1834, at which it was decided to send a letter to White asking his permission to present his name as a candidate. Senator Grundy, Polk, and Cave Johnson refused to go along with this procedure unless the issue were to be decided at the national convention of the Democratic party. The promoters of White's candidacy were unwilling to consent because they knew the convention would be a "packed jury" absolutely controlled by Jackson. Therefore, White's name was formally placed in nomination as an Independent Democrat by resolutions of the Alabama and Tennessee legislatures, using the same procedure by which Jackson himself had been nominated for the campaigns of 1824 and 1828. Meanwhile, in May, 1835, the Democratic convention went through the motions of ratifying Jackson's choice and nominated Van Buren.[81]

Crockett did not attend the December caucus of the Tennessee delegation, but he did sign the letter asking White to be a candidate.[82] Why Crockett did not attend the caucus has never been explained. The most logical explanation seems to have been ignored; he probably was not invited.[83] The promotion of White's candidacy began as an internal affair within the Democratic party, and Crockett was no longer a member of that party. Moreover, his relations with the other members of the delegation had not been very cordial. It is possible that his opportunity to sign the letter was the result of his own entreaties. Of course, when it became evident that Jackson could not be diverted from his course and that the only way in which White could run would be as an independent against Van Buren, who would undoubtedly be nominated by the Democratic Convention, it became necessary for the White faction to have some dealings with the Whigs. In that situation Crockett could serve as a convenient go-between. These relationships with the Whigs, however, they hoped could be kept secret. Even those Democrats, like John Bell, who had basic disagreements with Jackson and were attacking him indirectly by opposing Van Buren—and using the promotion

[81] P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History,* 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 288-92.

[82] Joseph H. Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge, La., 1950), 91n.; Nancy N. Scott, *A Memoir of Hugh Lawson White* (Philadelphia, 1856), 330.

[83] In a letter to Cave Johnson by the other members who did attend commenting on the views of the absentees the name of the absent Crockett is not mentioned. *Ibid.,* 259-62.

of White's candidacy as a half-way station on their way into the ranks of the Whig party—still claimed that they were loyal Democrats and supporters of Jackson. Throughout the campaign of 1836 they argued that White was a better Democrat and Jackson man than Van Buren. White himself refused to admit any affiliation with the Whigs until after the campaign was over. Whether they realized it or not, White and Bell were resorting to a strategy very similar to the one used by Crockett in the election of 1829.[84]

Jackson, however, was not fooled by the deception, but he gave Crockett and Bell more credit for initiating the White movement than they deserved. On February 16, 1835, he wrote to Alfred Balch:

> You have been rightly informed that all but those members you have named from Tennessee with crockett their tool, with the exception of judge Grundy, Polk and Johnson have in secrete caucus brought out judge White as a candidate for the Presidency in opposition to a National convention, and has thrown him on the opposition for support.

In subsequent letters he referred frequently to "Bell, Crockett and Co." as chiefly responsible for destroying the unity within the Democratic party.[85]

The Whigs responded with a scheme designed to throw the election into the House of Representatives for a decision. Hoping that White would take several southern states away from Van Buren, they allowed Daniel Webster to be the Whig candidate in the Northeast and William Henry Harrison in the remainder of the country. Also, the South Carolina nullifiers, after being rebuffed by Bell, threw the South Carolina electoral votes to W. P. Mangum. The scheme failed, however, and Van Buren received more votes than all the others combined. White carried only his own state and Georgia.[86]

Crockett helped promote the White candidacy and the Whig scheme in several ways. In addition to making speeches in Congress and writing letters to his friends attacking Jackson and Van Buren,

[84] Bell had been antagonized by Jackson's anti-bank policy and had lost caste in the Democratic party by defeating Jackson's choice, James K. Polk, for the speakership of the House of Representatives with the aid of Whig votes in June, 1834. Parks, *John Bell,* 58-99.

[85] John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* 6 vols. and index (Washington, D. C., 1926-1933), V, 327. See also Jackson to Polk, May 12, 1835; Jackson to Grundy, Oct. 5, 1835; Jackson to Andrew J. Hutchings, Oct. 31, 1835, and June 30, 1838 [1836], *ibid.* 345-46, 371, 374, 554-55.

[86] Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (Boston and New York, 1898), 178-89.

he arranged to have published over his name *The Life of Martin Van Buren, Hair-apparent to the "Government" and the Appointed Successor of General Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1835). It was actually written, it seems, by Augustin Smith Clayton, a congressman from Georgia. The work was so vitriolic in tone and came so close to the verge of libel that Carey and Hart were afraid to publish it under their own name, and used instead the name of Robert Wright as publisher.[87] David also collaborated in Whig propaganda with another famous humorist of the period, Seba Smith, who wrote under the name of Jack Downing and published *Jack Downing's Gazette.* Smith met David during the latter's tour of the East, was apparently captivated by him, and during 1835 published in the *Gazette* a series of letters purported to have been written by Crockett and his own replies. After Crockett's death Downing (Smith) returned to the Democratic fold and apparently regretted his relations with the Tennessee frontiersman.[88]

Another of Crockett's significant contributions to the anti-Van Buren campaign was the preparation (with help) of a clever parody on a letter from Thomas Hart Benton, the Jacksonian senator from Missouri, to a Mississippi convention rejecting its proposal that he run for the vice presidency on an anti-Van Buren ticket. Benton, of course, recommended the election of Van Buren. The Crockett parody was made feasible by his claim that another Mississippi convention in 1833 had proposed his name for the presidency. Preceding the parody, which was published in Gales and Seaton's *National Intelligencer* and other papers, there was printed on request what purported to be Crockett's reply to the 1833 convention. In the parody he advocated the election of Van Buren for reasons which were the most uncomplimentary he could think of to the "Little Magician" of New York. Although the Mississippi offer probably was imaginary, Crockett did not neglect to mention his own presidential aspirations, coupling his "support" of a northern candidate this time with the assumption that David himself, from the Southwest, would be next in line.[89]

[87] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 183-89. John Donald Wade, "The Authorship of David Crockett's 'Autobiography'." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Athens), VI (Sept., 1922), 265-68, argues that Clayton wrote the *Autobiography,* but it is probable, according to Shackford, that Wade's chief source of information, the memory of Clayton's son, confused the "Life" of Crockett with the "Life" of Van Buren.

[88] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 158, 197-202.

[89] *Ibid.,* 179-83. This phraseology leads to the speculation that David may have had

Such immodest and self-generated presidential hopes were dependent upon Crockett's ability to win re-election in 1835 and this in turn would be determined to a considerable degree by the success or failure of his legislative program on behalf of his constituents. In this regard he was again doomed to complete frustration. On December 11, 1834, he introduced once more his resolution for the improvement of the Hatchie, Forked Deer, and Obion rivers. He explained that it had been rejected previously because of Jackson's definition of a "national river," deserving of federal improvement, as one with a port of entry. He admitted that these rivers did not have any ports of entry, but insisted that their improvement would still be a national object in the interest of national defense in the event of an invasion of the country by way of New Orleans. He was again unsuccessful and the resolution was rejected without a division.[90]

Crockett's political future was most dependent on the passage of his "occupant" land bill, which he had re-introduced at the beginning of the session and bolstered with two committee reports. As finally drawn the measure provided that the proceeds from the sale of land south and west of the Congressional Reservation Line should be placed in a permanent fund for the support of common schools. The land was to be sold at a price not less than twelve and one half cents an acre, and occupants were to be given priority in the purchase of two hundred acres, including their improvements. On several occasions Crockett tried desperately to get this bill on the floor for debate, but always without success. Although Representative William C. Dunlap of the other West Tennessee district rendered him some assistance, the Tennessee delegation in general still refused him aid despite their joint efforts in the interest of White's presidential candidacy.[91]

Crockett faced serious opposition in his campaign for re-election in 1835. As early as the first of the year it was known that his opponent would be the same peg-legged Adam Huntsman who had penned his "Chronicles" in behalf of Fitzgerald's campaign in 1833. On January 1 he wrote to Polk:

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a secret hope in the event of success of the Whig scheme to throw the election into the House that the House would elect a northern Whig, Webster or Harrison, rather than White and thus leave the way open for him to be considered as the next successor. By this time modesty was no longer a characteristic of David Crockett.

[90] *Register of Debates,* 23 Cong., 2 sess., 781; *Cong. Globe,* 23 Cong., 2 sess., 241.

[91] *Ibid.,* 104, 274; *Register of Debates,* 23 Cong., 2 sess., 953, 1191-92; RG 233.

> I begin to believe I can beat Davy . . . I have been in all the Counties but one in this District and Crockett is evidently loosing ground or otherwise he never was as strong as I supposed him to be— . . . He is eternally sending Anti Jackson documents here and it has its effects. If he carries his land Bill I will give [concede] him strength[.] Otherwise the conflict will not be a difficult one. . . .[92]

Since the land bill did not pass, Crockett faced a constituency wearied by his long record of unfulfilled promises. Also, his antagonist was his equal as a stump speaker. He had the advantage over Crockett's previous opponents in that he had grown up in the backwoods county; he had a witty tongue and a good supply of anecdotes; and he could point to his "timber toe" as proof of a military background.[93] He also benefitted from all the assistance which President Jackson was able to give him. Next to their desire to defeat John Bell (which they were not able to do), the Jacksonians wished to see David Crockett driven out of Congress. In this they achieved their aim for Huntsman defeated Crockett by a little more than two hundred votes.[94]

Crockett complained to his publishers that Huntsman was "aided by all the popularity of both Andrew Jackson & Governor Carroll and the whole strength of the Union Bank at Jackson." He also charged that this bank offered twenty-five dollars each for votes for Huntsman and that during the canvass Jackson was "franking" every copy of the Washington *Globe,* the administration organ, to "every post office in this district."[95] When these charges were publicized in the press, Huntsman admitted the use of Jackson's franking privilege to distribute copies of the *Globe,* but insisted that this was nothing compared with the 20,000 anti-Jackson documents which Crockett had sent into the district. Also, Crockett had refused to send Jackson documents when requested to do so by his constituents; thus it was his "most perserving hostility to the administration" which had defeated him. Huntsman declared that he had never treated a man to a drop with a view to

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[92] He also asked Polk for information about congressional doings because "Davy of the River country does not honor me with a line. . . ." The original is in the Polk Papers (Library of Congress), but it has been printed in Emma Inman Williams (ed.), "Letters of Adam Huntsman to James K. Polk," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), VI (Dec. 1947), 339, and in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 175-76.

[93] Chase Mooney, "The Political Career of Adam Huntsman," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* X (June, 1951), 116.

[94] *Ibid.* According to David the margin was 230 votes. *Autobiography,* 221.

[95] Crockett to Carey and Hart, Aug. 11, 1835, quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 205. An almost identical letter, dated August 10, was printed, with some of the "energetic" language softened, in the *National Intelligencer,* Sept. 2, 1835. *Ibid.,* 312 (n. 13).

getting his vote, and said the Union Bank challenged Crockett to prove his charges of vote-buying. According to Huntsman, the election turned largely on national issues and his victory was due to his opposition to a protective tariff, federal aid to internal improvements, and a national bank. He concluded that the grievances of the campaign were about equal, and the "reason why he [Crockett] lost the election was because he did not get votes enough."[96]

Apocryphal stories have been told about this campaign as well as other Crockett contests. One of special interest tells of how Crockett used a chair, making it sound like Huntsman's peg-leg, while retreating to his room after attempting to break into the room of the daughter of a farmer at whose home the two were spending the night. The father was convinced that Huntsman was the guilty party and shifted his vote to Crockett.[97] David also is reputed to have told his audience in one of his concluding speeches that if they elected his opponent, "They might go to h—l, and I would go to Texas."[98] Whether he actually said this or not is uncertain, but it is true that with his congressional career ended, he did go to Texas. There he lost his own life at the Alamo; but the legendary "Davy" increased enormously in proportions, and this "character" has continued to live and grow throughout the succeeding years.

(The concluding article of this series, dealing with David's exploits in Texas and the controversies which have arisen about them, will appear in *Publications* No. 30.)

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[96] Mooney, "Adam Huntsman," *loc. cit.*, 117-18. After David's death at the Alamo, Huntsman supported the election to Congress of Crockett's son, John Wesley, who in 1841 had the opportunity to see a modification of his father's land bill become law. It made Tennessee the agent in selling United States land in the state and granted occupants pre-emption rights to 200 acres at twelve and one half cents an acre. In 1846, while Polk was president, that statesman's aim was eventually achieved when Congress ceded to Tennessee the remaining lands in the Congressional Reservation for the support of a college in West Tennessee. *Ibid.*, 123; Whitney (ed.) *Land Laws*, 283-85, 298-303.

[97] Davis, *History of Memphis*, 151-52. In order to make it appear that the trick won the election for Crockett, Davis says it happened in 1833, erroneously stating that Huntsman was his actual opponent in that campaign as well as in 1835.

[98] *Ibid.*, 143. See also *Autobiography* ("Texas Exploits"), 224.

THE EAST TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN AND THE BATTLE OF KNOXVILLE IN 1863

By HAROLD S. FINK

The East Tennessee campaign and its climax, the Confederate assault upon Knoxville, November 29, 1863, are little noticed today. Historians usually dismiss the campaign as an adjunct to the contemporary military operations around Chattanooga which are regarded as decisive. Yet at the time the campaign was regarded as of critical importance. On each side it was initiated on the highest level, to it commanders of high rank and reputation were assigned, and the outcome was awaited with the greatest anxiety. And properly so, for the East Tennessee campaign had both decisive effects on the Chattanooga operations and very important economic and political results as well.

During the war the fate of East Tennessee was a matter of most anxious concern for both Federal and Confederate governments. Each considered the area to be of great political, economic, and strategic importance. The political significance of East Tennessee lay in the fact that it contained a substantial majority of Union sympathizers although the state of Tennessee as a whole had formally passed an ordinance of secession and joined the Confederacy in 1861. It was therefore a point of honor, especially important in a democracy, for each government to exercise its sovereignty in this area. This the Confederacy did first, garrisoning East Tennessee from the beginning of the war. Individuals who crossed the Cumberlands to go to Kentucky and enlist in Union regiments told stories which excited sympathy and indignation in the North. The East Tennessee Unionists had in Andrew Johnson of Greeneville, officially military governor of Tennessee, an advocate high in the counsels of the Federal government, and in President Abraham Lincoln a friend who felt an almost personal obligation to accomplish the reoccupation of this area at the first opportunity.

The grand strategy of the Federal government was to surround the Confederacy with a blockade by land and sea and then to cut the South asunder down the channel of the Mississippi and also southeasterly from the rail center of Chattanooga to the Atlantic. The operations in East Tennessee were closely connected with this strategy.

First, the eastern part of Tennessee was economically important to the Confederacy as a center of livestock and grain production. Both types of economy had been neglected by the cotton areas of the South. If the Confederates held East Tennessee and the railway running from Chattanooga to Virginia they could the better supply their hungry troops; if not, the problems of the Confederate commissary officers would be serious indeed.[1]

Second, East Tennessee was strategically important because it is a valley, about 60 miles wide and 225 miles long, lying between the Great Smoky Mountains to the east and the Cumberlands to the west. Through it ran a railway which was the shortest connection between Virginia and Chattanooga, the gateway to the deep South and the West. This railway was the only such connection west of the Blue Ridge. If the valley were held by the Confederates they could protect Chattanooga, if by the Unionists they could threaten it. Further, if the valley and the passes of the Cumberlands were held by the Confederates they could at any time threaten the Union forces in Mississippi, central Tennessee, and in Kentucky. There were therefore strong reasons why both sides wanted to hold East Tennessee.

By the middle of 1863 Southern prospects were gloomy. The blockade was becoming very effective; General Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Tennessee captured Vicksburg, the key to the Mississippi, July 4; and at almost the same moment, July 1-3, Lee was turned back at Gettysburg in his great effort to carry the war into the North. Meanwhile, in the spring and summer two more Union armies were building up strength. One, the Army of the Cumberland, under General W. S Rosecrans in central Tennessee, was intended to strike at Chattanooga, while the other, the Army of the Ohio, was being gathered in Kentucky to invade East Tennessee and also to cooperate with Rosecrans' left wing.

Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, the Federal officer to whom was assigned the occupation of East Tennessee, is today much better known for the disasters of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and

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[1] Consult Hillyear to Bragg, August 25, 1863, and endorsements, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 4, pp. 548-53. This set will be hereafter cited as *O.R.*

the St. Petersburg mine, July 30, 1864, associated with his name, than for any successes.

Burnside was born in Indiana on May 23, 1824, the grandson of a South Carolina planter of Scotch ancestry.[2] Trained at West Point, he later resigned from the army to enter private business. He re-entered the service as a Rhode Island militia colonel in 1861 and commanded a brigade at Bull Run. He next commanded a combined military and naval expedition which took Roanoke Island, February 8, 1862, an early Federal success in a year of disappointments. With his troops reorganized as the Ninth Corps, Burnside served with distinction under McClellan in the Army of the Potomac. Reluctantly relieving McClellan in command after continued pressure from the War Department, Burnside committed the great tactical blunder of a frontal assault upon a prepared Confederate position at Marye's Heights, Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. He was removed, January 26, when it became known that he intended another frontal assault upon Lee.

After his removal from command of the Army of the Potomac, Burnside offered to resign from the service, but Lincoln, who had great confidence in him, said he had "other fish to fry."[3] The fish turned out to be the command of the Department and Army of the Ohio, starting March 25, 1863. Burnside's responsibilities were to check seditious activity in his border state area, maintain communications with Grant's Army of the Tennessee in Mississippi and with Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland in central Tennessee, and to carry out the occupation of East Tennessee while maintaining a connection with Rosecrans' left wing. Burnside requested the assignment of his devoted Ninth Corps, and secured the transfer of two of its divisions to his new command.

Burnside and Rosecrans set out on their respective missions August 16. The former left Camp Nelson, Kentucky, fifteen miles south of Nicholasville, his railhead, with about 15,000 men organized as the Twenty-third Corps. They traveled overland about two hundred and twenty miles, in five columns, converging on Montgomery, Morgan

[2] There is no satisfactory modern monograph on Burnside. Consult Augustus Woodbury, *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps* (Providence, R. I., 1867); Ben: Perley Poore, *The Life and Public Services of Ambrose E. Burnside* (Providence, R. I., 1882); Gustave Joseph Fieberger, "Ambrose Everett Burnside," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and supplement (New York, 1928-36, 1944), III, 309-15; and Clarence Edward Macartney, *Grant and his Generals* (New York, 1953), 245-66. The latter two are brief and incomplete.

[3] Poore, *Burnside*, 202.

County, Tennessee. A cavalry detachment under Colonel John W. Foster crossed the Cumberlands at Winter's Gap, reaching Knoxville September 1. Burnside and the main body arrived via Kingston two days later. The Confederate General Simon Bolivar Buckner evacuated the valley without resistance, but not before setting fire to the nine hundred-foot railway trestle over the Tennessee River at Loudon. Burnside proceeded with a small force to Cumberland Gap, which important place surrendered September 9. The next day he sent a dispatch to Washington asking to be relieved, for he was suffering from an old ailment and felt his assignment had been fulfilled, but Lincoln declined to release him. Burnside was now in an area largely friendly, but he was on his own resources many precarious wagon miles from his bases in Kentucky. The arrival of the Ninth Corps, about 6,000 strong, detailed in June to serve under Grant in the Vicksburg campaign, was a cheering element in the last days of September.[4]

Meanwhile General Thomas L. Crittenden, commanding the Twenty-first Corps of Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland, notified Burnside that he had occupied Chattanooga September 9 without resistance, and was in pursuit of the enemy. Burnside, reassured, went on with the occupation of East Tennessee. Then on September 16 he began to be bombarded with dispatches from Washington urging him to send assistance to Rosecrans. General Braxton Bragg, commanding the Confederate Army of Tennessee, had turned and faced Rosecrans, and General James Longstreet's famous First Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia had been ordered to the assistance of Bragg. Burnside at once announced that he would comply but his assistance to Rosecrans never materialized. He has been much criticized for this. He says in his report of November 13, 1865, that he was misled by the tone of Crittenden's dispatch, but actually he had no time to gather his troops scattered from one to two hundred miles away before the great battle of Chickamauga began September 19. At the same time it is evident that Burnside continued to give priority to the military occupation of East Tennessee and made no haste to connect with Rosecrans. In the

[4] Burnside to Halleck, September 3, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 3, p. 333; Burnside to Lincoln, September 10, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 523; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 548-51. For discussion of the capture of Cumberland Gap see Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Indianapolis, New York, 1947), 271-72.

emergency he showed a calmness and deliberation which were characteristic of him but which in this case were faults.[5]

For months the gloomy prospects of the Southern Confederacy, caught in an iron ring, had been causing increasing anxiety to informed leaders. One of these was Lieutenant General James Longstreet, Lee's distinguished subordinate.

Longstreet was born in Georgia, January 8, 1821, the grandson of a Dutch farmer of New Jersey.[6] He, like Burnside, was educated at West Point but he remained in the United States army as a paymaster until 1861, when he entered the Confederate service as a brigadier and like Burnside commanded a brigade at Bull Run. In the fall of 1862 he was given command of the First Corps under Lee with the rank of lieutenant general. He was thereafter, with the possible exception of Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, Lee's right-hand man. He served Lee to the end of the war at Appomattox with the exception of two experiences in independent command, the Suffolk campaign in Virginia and North Carolina early in 1863 and in East Tennessee in the fall and winter of 1863-64. It was Longstreet who selected the superb defensive position at Marye's Heights, Fredericksburg, and it was his First Corps which repelled the repeated charges of Burnside's men on that bloody slope. This battle lends dramatic interest to Longstreet's assault upon Knoxville, November 29, 1863, when the roles of the two generals were reversed. Indeed, the whole East Tennessee campaign is of additional interest because it affords an opportunity to study Longstreet and Burnside, who may be primarily regarded as corps commanders from the East serving in independent command in the West.

The ever-tightening encirclement of the Confederacy by land and sea caused Longstreet to turn his mind to high strategy. He says in a letter to Lee of April 3, 1863, that as early as January 23 he had proposed that one corps of Lee's army stand on the defensive behind the Rappahannock while the other (Longstreet's) operated elsewhere. This

[5] Crittenden to Burnside, September 10, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 3, p. 523; Halleck to Grant, October 20, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 667; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.*, Vol. 30, Pt. 2, pp. 549-51.

[6] For Longstreet's life consult his *From Manassas to Appomattox,* 2nd ed., revised (Philadelphia, 1903); H. J. Eckenrode and Bryan Conrad, *James Longstreet, Lee's War Horse* (Chapel Hill, 1936); Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants, a Study in Command,* 3 vols. (New York, 1942-44); and Donald Bridgmen Sanger and Thomas Robson Hay, *James Longstreet,* (Part) I, *Soldier* by Sanger and (Part) II, *Politician, Officeholder, and Writer* by Hay (Baton Rouge, 1952).

letter was written while Longstreet was conducting a fruitless campaign in the Suffolk area of Virginia. Early in May, when ordered to return to Lee, Longstreet urged upon President Jefferson Davis and Secretary of War James Seddon his ideas of grand strategy. Let Lee remain on the defensive and let Longstreet join Generals Joseph E. Johnston and Braxton Bragg in driving Rosecrans out of central Tennessee and cutting off Grant, thus forcing him to give up the Vicksburg campaign. Longstreet also conferred with Lee. But he was not successful.[7] The upshot was Lee's Gettysburg campaign which demonstrated anew the inability of the Army of Northern Virginia to force a decision in the East. At the same moment Grant took Vicksburg, as we have seen.

Longstreet now determined to compel a decision in the West if he could do so. He says in his memoirs that he wrote a private letter to Secretary Seddon, about August 15, suggesting his views. When Lee, who loved his great lieutenant, discovered this he did not reprimand Longstreet for going over his head but instead discussed Longstreet's idea with him. Longstreet says Lee rejected the notion of himself going West on the ground that he was unfamiliar with the country but suggested that Longstreet be in command there. Late in August Lee was called to Richmond where he discussed strategy with Davis. After several conferences it was agreed that Lee should stand on the defensive in Virginia while Longstreet and most of his First Corps should be sent to serve under Bragg in the Army of Tennessee. This was a fateful decision, for Longstreet did not respect the man under whom he was to serve, and indeed had hoped to take his place.[8]

As a result Longstreet received his orders and began entraining his troops on September 9. But the decision was not soon enough. Burnside's occupation of East Tennessee the week before had cut off the direct Confederate railroad connection with Chattanooga. Colonel E. P. Alexander, Longstreet's artillery commander, writes that the First Corps had to travel from 843 to 925 miles in eight or nine days over railroads of different gauges via the Carolinas to reach Bragg,

[7] Longstreet to Lee, April 3, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 959. For Longstreet's conversations with Davis and Seddon see his *Manassas*, 327, 331, and Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 39-50. For an interesting analysis of Longstreet as a man and as a general see Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet*, 363-70.

[8] Longstreet, *Manassas*, 433-37; Lee to Davis, September 6, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 29, Pt. 2, pp. 700-01; Davis to Lee, September 8, 1863, *ibid.*, 702. Consult Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet*, 217-20; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 221-23; and Sanger, *Longstreet*, 195-97.

nearly twice the time and distance that would have been required via Knoxville.[9] Consequently, Longstreet and five of his nine brigades, minus Alexander's artillery, arrived in time for only the second day of the Battle of Chickamauga, September 20. Yet it was largely Longstreet who turned this into a great Confederate victory. Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland retired into Chattanooga where it was put virtually under siege. But Longstreet and Bragg's other generals were disgusted at what they regarded as Bragg's failure to promptly and properly follow up a great victory. According to General James M. Goggin, Longstreet had a public quarrel with Bragg, defying him and saying, "You may rank me but you cannot cashier me."[10] Longstreet wrote to Seddon and Lee. Several generals signed a round robin letter of protest to Jefferson Davis.[11]

The President of the Confederacy could hardly ignore such an uproar. Consequently, on October 9-13, Davis came to Bragg's headquarters on Missionary Ridge, above Chattanooga, to investigate. After hearing the views of these generals, in Bragg's presence, Davis decided to sustain Bragg. He allowed the latter to remove most of the disaffected officers from their commands but not Longstreet. The latter in his *Manassas to Appomattox* suggests the personal loyalty of the First Corps to their commander as the reason. Possibly also Davis recognized Longstreet's great ability and felt that he was primarily Lee's man on loan from Lee. At the same time he had been wanting Burnside destroyed ever since the latter arrived in East Tennessee. Therefore, on October 29 he suggested to Bragg, unknown to Longstreet, that the latter be detached to destroy or drive out Burnside. Thus Davis would separate two antagonistic generals. But his suggestion would also separate their troops at a time when Grant would be certain to mass forces against Bragg. Davis' solution of his problems would be a stroke of genius if Longstreet could be a Stonewall Jackson, smashing one enemy

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[9] Lee to Davis, September 9, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 29, Pt. 2, p. 706; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate, a Critical Narrative* (New York, 1907), 448-49.

[10] James M. Goggin to Rev. J. William Jones, January 2, 1884, in *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1876-1943), XII (1884), 223.

[11] Longstreet to Seddon, September 26, 1863; *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 4, pp. 705-06; Polk to Lee, September 27, 1863, *ibid.*, 708; the "round robin," October 4, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 65-66; Polk to Davis, October 6, 1863, *ibid.*, 67. Consult Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet*, 240-43; Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (Indianapolis and New York, 1941), 377-80; and Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 233-34.

and getting back to the other on time, but if not it would be a most appalling mistake.[12]

In the meantime the War Department in Washington put the whole Western problem into the hands of Major General Ulysses S. Grant, the conqueror of Vicksburg. By orders of October 18 he was made commander of the newly-formed Military Division of the Mississippi, with jurisdiction over the Departments and Armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio. Major General George H. Thomas, whose left wing had held firm at Chickamauga and had saved the Army of the Cumberland from annihilation, replaced Rosecrans in command of that army. Major General William Tecumseh Sherman relieved Grant in command of the Army of the Mississippi. Burnside continued in command of the Army of the Ohio.

Grant at once took steps to rescue Thomas' army beleaguered in Chattanooga. He ordered up Sherman's army from Mississippi, he requested troops to be sent from General George Gordon Meade's Army of the Potomac, and he himself went to Chattanooga. At the same time General W. F. ("Baldy") Smith, of Thomas' staff, opened up a supply line into Chattanooga by seizing Brown's Ferry, west of the city, October 27. As a result food, clothing, and ammunition began coming in, and the Army of the Cumberland began to recover in health and morale. Soon Sherman's Army of the Mississippi was approaching from the west and two army corps, the Eleventh and Twelfth, under Major General Joseph Hooker, were dispatched from the Army of the Potomac.

The situation was different with Burnside. He was not expected to go to Thomas but to hold what he had. And he was expected to hold with short supplies. He had left his base at Camp Nelson, Kentucky, in the middle of August. From Knoxville to the nearest steamboat landings on the Big South Fork of the Cumberland, and to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, respectively, were about one and two hundred miles of difficult wagon roads across a devastated country. These roads were already lined with broken wagons and dead animals. Stocks of ammunition, horseshoes, medicines, and small stores were getting low among Burnside's men in East Tennessee, and their shoes and summer uni-

[12] Longstreet, *Manassas*, 465-70; Davis to Bragg, September 10, October 29, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 52, Pt. 2, p. 524, 554; Longstreet to Buckner, November 5, 1863, *ibid.*, 560.

forms were getting thin. They could draw upon the friendly area they occupied for fodder, fresh meat, and grain as long as the supply lasted. For transportation up and down the valley they could use five locomotives, twenty-two cars, and about a hundred miles of track, from the burned trestle at Loudon to the vicinity of Bull's Gap. They could keep about five days' supply of flour on hand by using the grist mills of the region they occupied.[13]

This then was the situation when Bragg ordered Longstreet to march upon Burnside and drive him from East Tennessee or if possible capture or destroy him. The various Union forces under the supreme command of General Grant were increasing in strength against Bragg, but the latter still had a grip upon Thomas' Army of the Cumberland within Chattanooga. There was a chance, Bragg thought, to smash Burnside if done quickly. Prompted by the dispatch from President Davis of October 29 Bragg decided to detach Longstreet and his First Corps for this purpose. Longstreet received oral instructions November 3, and written orders the next day. He thought it was Bragg's idea for he did not know of Davis' part in the affair.[14] The plan was welcome to both generals. It would rid each of the other. For Longstreet it would mean the opportunity of independent command, something he had desired before he came West. But it was to be the command of his own First Corps, not Bragg's Army of Tennessee. Nothing in the correspondence of either general indicates that either realized what a tragic mistake it was to divide their forces before Chattanooga when Grant was bringing in Sherman's Army of the Tennessee from Mississippi and Joe Hooker's Eleventh and Twelfth Corps from the Army of the Potomac.

General Longstreet, as soon as he heard he would be sent after Burnside, began to make plans. He asked Bragg for one or two engineers and one or two quartermasters familiar with East Tennessee, and he asked General Buckner, who had evacuated the area in August, for

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[13] Burnside to Halleck, September 17, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 3, p. 718; Burnside to Lincoln, November 12, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 128; Dana to Stanton, November 13, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 259. See U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, 2 vols. (New York, 1886), II, 44, 101.

[14] Davis to Bragg, October 29, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 52, Pt. 2, p. 554; Bragg to Longstreet, November 4, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, pp. 634-35; Longstreet to Buckner, November 5, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 52, Pt. 2, p. 560. For further discussion see Don C. Seitz, *Braxton Bragg, General of the Southern Confederacy* (Columbia, S. C., 1924), 387-91; Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet*, 250-53; and Sanger, *Longstreet*, 220-21.

maps. He also asked Bragg for more troops. We have no evidence that Bragg supplied any engineers, quartermasters, or maps. But he did make the indispensable assignment of Major General Joseph Wheeler's cavalry corps and suggested that its officers would know the country. He also promised to send along a prominent civilian of Knoxville, Judge William G. Swan, then a member of the Confederate Congress.[15] Of Longstreet's maps we shall hear later. Longstreet's principal reliance would be upon his veteran First Corps. Though they were ragged, unpaid, and ill-fed, these troops had no superiors. Union documents invariably mention them with respect. The First Corps wore the laurels of many of Lee's victories and now of Chickamauga. They were devoted to Longstreet, affectionately called "Old Pete." Such was their morale that we hear that the men of one regiment, the Seventh South Carolina Infantry, went into bivouac near Campbell's Station, Tennessee, grousing because they had met no Federals counted upon to supply the blankets they so badly needed.[16] This reminds us that Longstreet's men had left their base in Virginia early in September. Like Burnside's men they found their shoes and summer clothes wearing out and themselves running short of supplies of all kinds, including ammunition and food. When Longstreet's soldiers detrained at Sweetwater, November 6-13, they found that Bragg's local commander, General Carter L. Stevenson, had no rations for them. They had to live off the country, day by day. Longstreet became very bitter. He began to suspect, not knowing that Davis had suggested the campaign, that Bragg had conspired to shove him out into the wilderness to get rid of him. And Bragg disclaimed any responsibility for feeding him.[17]

The two opposing forces were about equal. Burnside's report to Grant of October 2, 1863, indicates that he had more than 22,300 men in East Tennessee but only 9,300 infantry and 4,050 cavalry, plus artillery, a minimum total of 13,350 available for the defense of Knoxville and the area south. His official abstract of returns for November 30 indicates that he had around Knoxville 5,697 men of the Ninth

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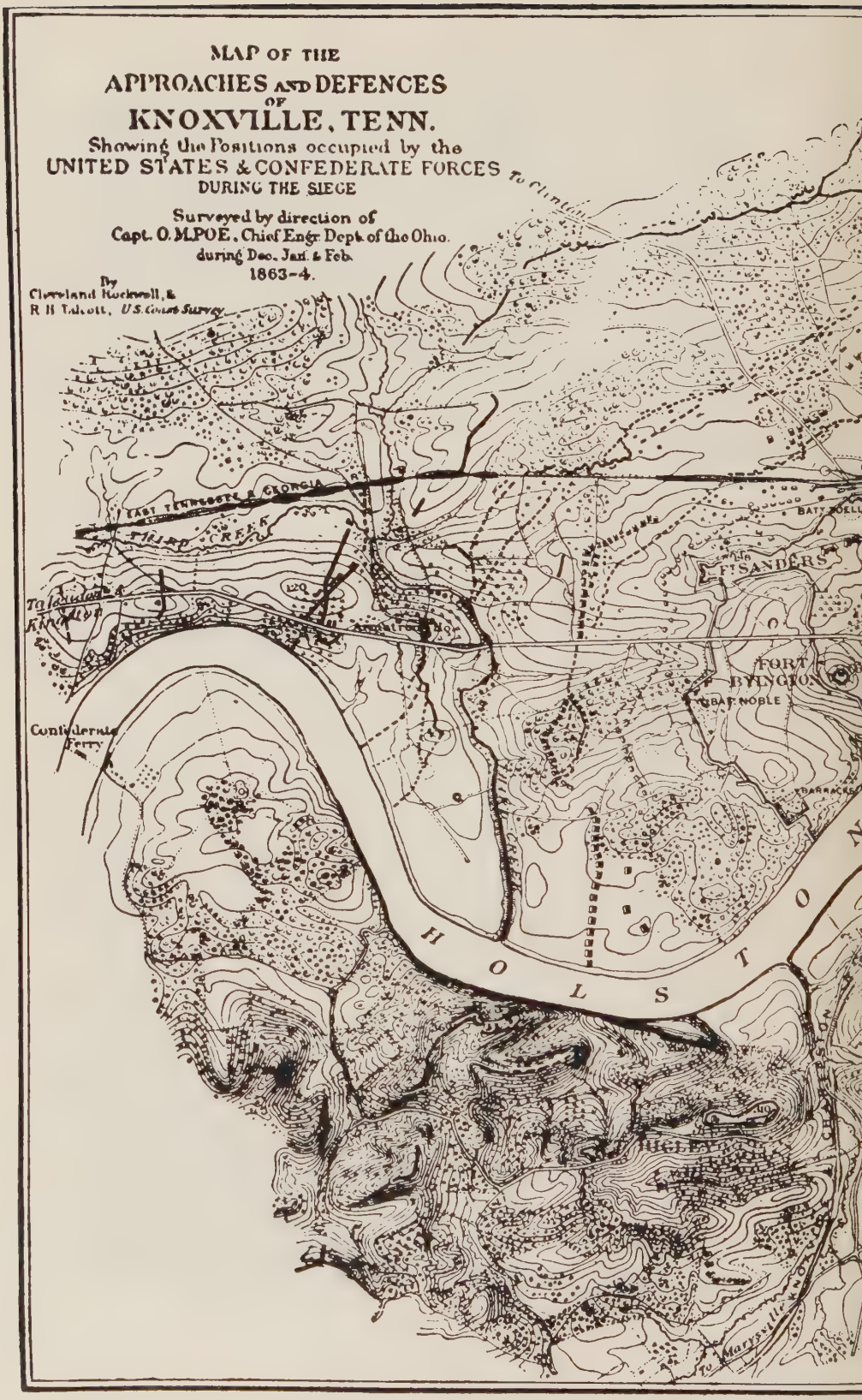
[15] Longstreet to Bragg, November 3, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 626; Longstreet to Buckner, November 5, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 52, Pt. 2, p. 560; Bragg to Longstreet, November 4, 5, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, pp. 634-35, 636; Longstreet, *Manassas*, 485-86.

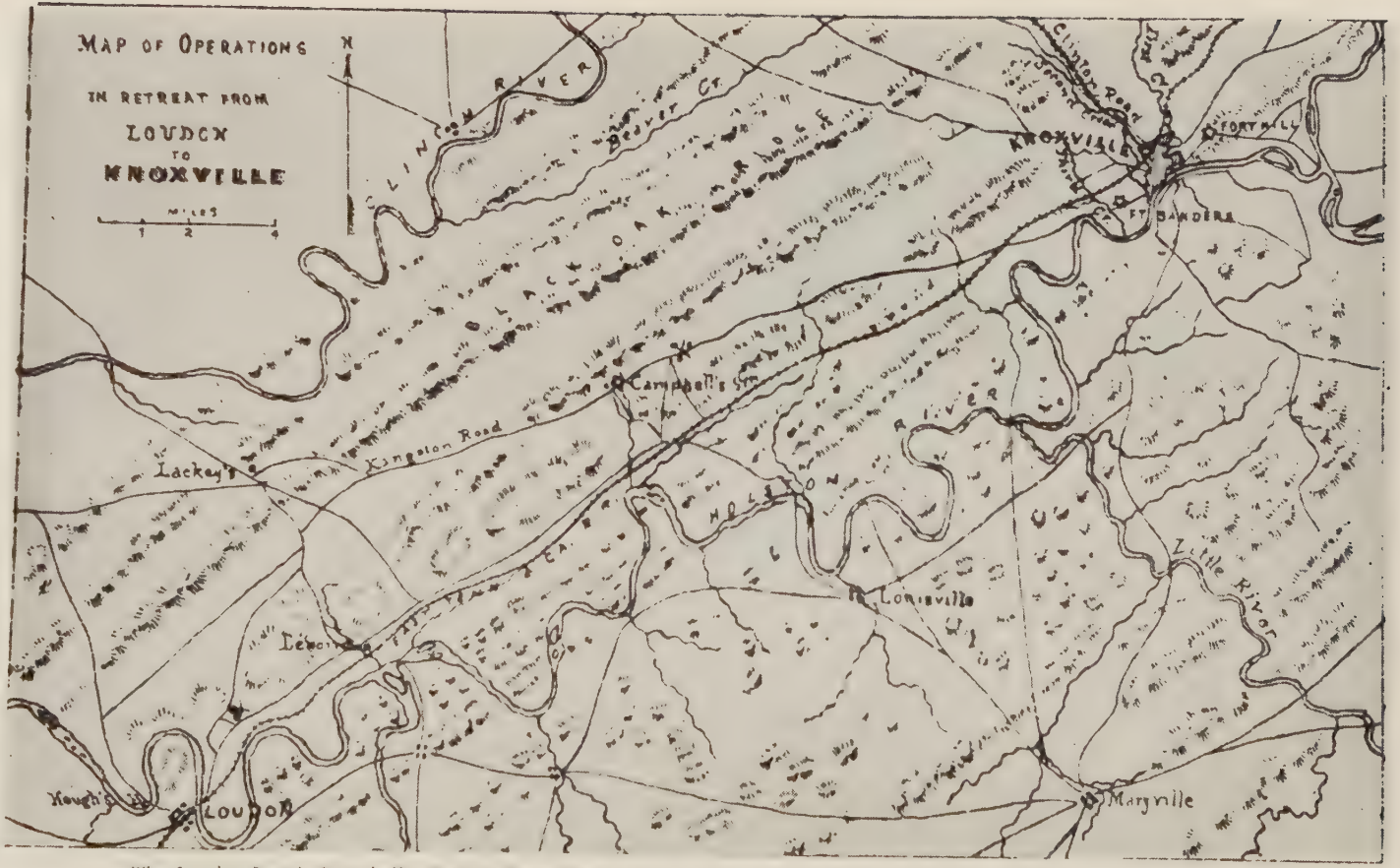
[16] Goggans to Holmes, January 8, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 512.

[17] Consult correspondence of Longstreet and Bragg, November 8-13, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 3, pp. 670-71, 679-81, 686-87; and Longstreet, *Manassas*, 481-86. For comment see Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 288; and Sanger, *Longstreet*, 223-25.

Captain Orlando M. Poe and Lieutenant Colonel Orville E. Babcock at Fort Sanders, Knoxville. George N. Barnard. Collections, 1864. Library of Congress.


MAP OF THE
APPROACHES AND DEFENCES
OF
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
Showing the Positions occupied by the
UNITED STATES & CONFEDERATE FORCES
DURING THE SIEGE
Surveyed by direction of
Capt. O. M. POE., Chief Engr. Dept. of the Ohio.
during Dec., Jan. & Feb.
1863-4.
By
Cleveland Rockwell, &
R. H. Talcott, U.S. Coast Survey.
To Clinton
EAST TENNESSEE & GEORGIA R.
FORT SANDERS
FORT BYINGTON
Confederate Ferry
HOLSTON
To Marysville

Rail Road Depots
EAST TENNESSEE
FORT HILL
FORT SANDERS
KNOXVILLE
Ponton Bridge
R I V E R
FT STANLEY
To Sevierville
To Rutledge
Union Positions
Confederate Positions
Union Picket Lines captured by the Confederates
Statute Mile
Scale of Yards



The Loudon-Lenoir-Campbell's Station Operations, 1863. From Augustus Woodbury, *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps* (Providence, 1867).

Corps and 8,600 of the Twenty-third Corps, a total of 14,297. Longstreet on November 5 complained privately to Buckner that he was getting 12,000 men for the Knoxville assignment when he needed 20,000. The former figure approximates the 11,073 total present reported in Hood's (Jenkins') and McLaws' divisions October 1, 1863, or 12,624 present counting the artillery. When in the next spring Longstreet asked his colleague, Lieutenant General W. J. Hardee, to testify for the record, Hardee said his memory was that Longstreet requested and received the assignment of 15,000 men, including General Joseph Wheeler's four cavalry brigades, to face Burnside's estimated strength of 14,300 at Knoxville.[18]

Longstreet and Burnside each over-estimated the strength of the other. On November 9, Longstreet, wanting more troops, wrote Bragg that Burnside faced him with 23,000 men. Burnside in his official report of November 13, 1865, estimated that Longstreet had from 20,000 to 23,000 effectives. On November 27-28, just before the assault on Knoxville, Longstreet received Buckner's Division of 2,625 effectives from Bragg and two brigades of cavalry from Virginia.[19]

Longstreet's advance to his railhead, Sweetwater, Tennessee, seventy miles from Chattanooga, was vexatiously slow. Due to the inefficiency of the railroad it took nine days, from November 4 to 13, to move up all of his troops. He had hoped it would take three or four. Colonel E. P. Alexander, commander of the artillery, says that his horses and drivers used the wagon roads. His gunners cut fence rails and carried water for the engine. Thus it took this particular train twelve hours or more to go sixty miles. Lieutenant Colonel Sorrel writes that the locomotives were so feeble that the soldiers often had to get out and walk up the grades. These difficulties were the subject of bitter complaints from Longstreet to Bragg.[20]

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[18] Burnside to Grant, October 20, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 680; Burnside's abstract of returns, November 30, 1863, *ibid.*, 267; Longstreet to Buckner, November 5, 1863., *ibid.*, Vol. 52, Pt. 2, p. 560; Longstreet's returns, October 1, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 30, Pt. 4, p. 721; Hardee to Longstreet, April 8, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 474; Longstreet, *Manassas*, 482. Certain authors credit Burnside with the larger force but fail to note that only a part of his troops in East Tennessee were available for the defense of Knoxville. See Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet*, 252; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 285-86; and Sanger, *Longstreet*, 223.

[19] Longstreet to Brent, November 9, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 671; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 275; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864. *ibid.*, 460.

[20] E. P. Alexander, "Longstreet at Knoxville," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, ed. by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, 4 vols. (New York, 1887-88), III, 746; Alexander, *Memoirs*, 481; G. Moxley Sorrel, *Recollections of a Con-*

It was originally Longstreet's intention to approach Knoxville from the south via Maryville and seize the heights commanding the town from across the river, then known as the Holston as far south as Lenoir's Station (the present Lenoir City), but now known as the Tennessee as far up as Knoxville (to the junction of the Holston and the French Broad). If this had been done Longstreet possibly could have driven out Burnside at once. But, lacking a sufficient wagon train to haul his pontoons, Longstreet decided against marching his main force south of the river. However, he ordered General Joseph Wheeler to leave Sweetwater November 13 with three brigades of cavalry and approach Knoxville by this route. Wheeler was to forage, divert Burnside's attention from Longstreet, and seize the hills opposite Knoxville if possible. Wheeler swept the Union cavalry command of Colonel William P. Sanders back to Knoxville by November 15. However, when he found the heights above the river securely held by Major General John G. Parke, Burnside's second-in-command, he retired, crossing the river near Louisville, below Knoxville, November 17, and rejoining Longstreet.[21]

Prior to the Confederate advance Burnside had been holding Loudon and the railroad thirteen miles south to Sweetwater. But growing evidence of aggressive intent from Bragg in the last of October, even before the detachment of Longstreet, had forced Burnside to decide to withdraw all of his troops south of Loudon and to hold that bridgehead with only a skeleton garrison. He intended to stand on the north bank of the Tennessee River from Kingston to Lenoir's Station and of the Little Tennessee from the latter point to the Smoky Mountains. Accordingly, several miles of track below Loudon were destroyed and a train was run off the south end of the ruined trestle at that place for a plunge of fifty feet into the river. A Confederate-built pontoon bridge

federate Staff Officer (New York and Washington, 1905), 210. For Longstreet's complaints regarding transportation, November 8-12, 1863, see *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, pp. 670-71, 680-81, 686-87. Consult Sanger, *Longstreet*, 223-25.

[21] For Longstreet's original intentions see his report, January 1, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 456; and his *Manassas*, 484. For the varying nomenclature of the river see James R. Montgomery, "The Nomenclature of the Upper Tennessee River," The East Tennessee Historical Society *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 28 (1955), 46-57. For the operations south of the river see Wheeler to Sorrel, December 31, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 540-42; Martin to Sorrel, January 8, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 545; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 456-57; and Orlando M. Poe, *Personal Recollections of the Occupation of East Tennessee and the Defense of Knoxville, a Paper Read before the Michigan Commandary of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, December 5, 1888 ("War Paper No. 9, Michigan Commandary M.O.L.L.U.S." [Detroit, 1889]), 14-15.

of forty boats nearby was taken up and set down at Knoxville by November 1. The town of Loudon was thus virtually evacuated October 28 except for patrols. Brigadier General Julius White's Second Division of the Twenty-third Corps was stationed on the north bank opposite Loudon, and Brigadier General Robert B. Potter's Ninth Corps, of two small divisions, was stationed about six miles northeast at Lenoir's Station. Baggage was brought up for establishing winter quarters here, and the men looked forward to a long rest. At the same time Burnside optimistically reported to Grant that he had 9,000 men in this area. This figure approximates the 9,675 men officially enrolled in these organizations. However, other evidence indicates that the effectives fit for duty and present in the Lenoir's-Loudon area seem rather to have been about 1,500 for White's division and 3,500 for the Ninth Corps, totalling about 5,000 men and this corresponds to the number reported by Burnside later.[22]

When it became apparent to Grant at Chattanooga that Longstreet would proceed against Burnside he wired the latter, November 7, to hold the line, Kingston, Lenoir's, and the Little Tennessee, as long as possible. If not possible, Burnside was to use his discretion, retiring to the passes of the Cumberlands if necessary. Thus Grant himself at this time envisioned the possible loss of East Tennessee. However, when Burnside realized, November 13, that Longstreet had reached Loudon in force he telegraphed Grant that he advised retirement to the fortifications of Knoxville in order to draw Longstreet out of reach of Bragg while Sherman's and Thomas' armies united to defeat Bragg. This indeed was to be the whole purpose of Burnside's forthcoming defense of Knoxville. General Grant concurred. But he, Lincoln, and the War Department were much worried because Burnside's supplies would not permit a long siege. Grant hoped Burnside could hold out for seven

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[22] For Burnside's plans see Burnside to Grant, October 27, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 756; and Poe to Burnside, January 13, 1864, *ibid.*, 294. For the evacuation see Richmond to White, October 27, 1863, *ibid.*, 758; Charles F. Walcott, *History of the Twenty-first Regiment of Massachuseits Volunteers* (Boston, 1882), 279; William Todd, *History of the Seventy-ninth Highlanders, New York Volunteers* (Albany, N. Y., 1886), 347-48; and Poe, *Recollections*. For Burnside's strength consult Burnside to Grant, November 3, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 33; Burnside's return of November 30, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 267; Potter to Richmond, November 18, 1863, *ibid.*, 335; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.*, 274; Document 49, "The East Tennessee Campaign," the *Louisville Journal* account, November 25, 1863, in *The Rebellion Record*, ed. by Frank Moore, 11 vols. (New York, 1861-63, 1864-68), VII, 270; and H. S. Burrage, "Retreat from Lenoir's and Siege of Knoxville," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XVIII (1866), 21.

days. Burnside, Grant says in his *Memoirs,* seemed confident by contrast, his chief worry being his ammunition supply. But Burnside had his moments of indecision. Once he suggested to his staff retirement across the river eastward into Blount County. Colonel J. H. Wilson, on temporary duty from Grant's staff, dryly remarked, "Grant did not wish him to include the capture of his entire army among the elements of his plan of operations."[23]

Burnside therefore made no serious effort to stop Longstreet short of Knoxville but rather drew him on. Longstreet put down his pontoon bridge over the Tennessee at Huff's (Hough's) Ferry, about a mile south of Loudon, beginning on the evening of November 13, and crossed his infantry by the morning of the fifteenth. We have seen that both Confederate and Union cavalry were operating south of the river in the period November 13-17.

When Burnside at Knoxville learned by telegraph that Longstreet was crossing the Tennessee, he immediately went to Lenoir's Station by rail, arriving on the morning of the fourteenth. The sight of "Old Burnie," as he was called, in his familiar slouched hat, cheered his men. He ordered White's division with Potter and the Ninth Corps in reserve to advance toward Huff's Ferry and reconnoitre. This was done in heavy rains. When Burnside learned from prisoners about four the next morning, November 15, that Longstreet was present in force, he ordered his troops to retire to Lenoir's Station. He wanted to draw Longstreet toward Knoxville, holding him in contact without becoming seriously engaged. His men reached Lenoir's Station about noon, having great difficulty saving their cannon due to the mud. Some men lost their shoes. When Longstreet's troops began to approach Lenoir's Station, White's Division was held deployed from 4 P.M. to 2 A.M. of the sixteenth to hold them off while the Ninth Corps prepared to abandon the newly-built winter quarters.[24]

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[23] Grant to Burnside, November 7, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 76; Burnside to Grant, November 13, 1863, *ibid.,* 138; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, p. 273; Grant to Burnside, November 14, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 3, p. 146; Grant, *Memoirs,* II, 50-51, 58; Dana to Stanton, November 18, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 260.

[24] Burrage, "Retreat from Lenoir's and Siege of Knoxville," *loc. cit.,* 21-23; Document 49, "The East Tennessee Campaign," *Rebellion Record,* VII, 270-72; White's report, November 25, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 377-78; Sorrel to Wheeler, November 16, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 3, pp. 702-03; Jenkins to Sorrel, January 13, 1864, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 524-25; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.,* 457; Thomas William Humes, *The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1888), 236-39.

Meantime Longstreet was ready to advance from Huff's Ferry by the morning of the fifteenth. He did not follow Burnside across country but took the Hotchkiss Valley Road to the crossroads about three miles north of Lenoir's Station. Here the division of Major General Lafayette McLaws camped for the night. McLaws was ordered to take the Kingston Road to Campbell's Station (now Farragut) and cut off Burnside the next morning. Longstreet and his other division (Hood's) commanded by Brigadier General Micah Jenkins, struck for Lenoir's Station. They approached late in the afternoon, as we have seen, impeded by mud and cold. They deployed at sunset but gathering darkness precluded an attack. Probably Longstreet did not wish to drive Burnside to Campbell's Station ahead of McLaws.[25]

About 2 A.M., November 16, Burnside ordered Potter's Ninth Corps to break up the newly-established winter quarters at Lenoir's and retire to Knoxville. He also ordered about a hundred baggage wagons with valuable stores destroyed in order to use the horses and mules to haul his cannon through the mud. Some sixteen to twenty-four beasts were used per gun. Sometimes infantry were ordered to help pull with the mules. In the hurried exit a valuable pontoon bridge over the Little Tennessee was left behind not even properly sabotaged. A part of it was later taken to Knoxville by Longstreet. Company B, One hundred and eleventh Ohio Infantry, on guard duty, was forgotten by a staff officer and fell prisoner to the Confederates.[26]

Even before this, on the evening of the fifteenth, Burnside ordered Colonel John F. Hartranft, commanding the Second Division of the Ninth Corps, to seize the junction at Campbell's Station, eight miles ahead, before McLaws got there. Hartranft's mounted infantry reached Campbell's Station during the night, and the main body of his infantry early the next morning, November 16. They were just in time for within a half hour the head of McLaws' column could be seen plodding up the Kingston Road. Hartranft immediately deployed across this road and protected Burnside's wagon trains and the other two divisions as they reached the vital intersection. Burnside placed these two divisions and his artillery on a low ridge about half a mile to the rear. There

[25] McLaws to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 481; Burrage, "Retreat from Lenoir's and Siege of Knoxville," *loc. cit.*, 23-24.

[26] Ferrero to Bowen, February 5, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 350; White's report, November 25, 1863, *ibid.*, 378; Sherwood to Montgomery, November 28, 1863, *ibid.*, 390; Poe, *Recollections*, 13.

Hartranft joined them to form the left wing. It was not until nearly noon that Longstreet's two columns were up, deployed and ready to attack. Jenkins then tried to turn Burnside's left wing but was seen and thwarted. Burnside then retired under fire to a new position on higher ground a thousand yards to the rear. Here he beat off another attempt on his left between four and five o'clock, when gathering darkness cut off the fighting. Burnside started his men toward Knoxville, fourteen miles away, for another night march in the mud. Longstreet's weary First Corps followed them.[27]

Burnside showed great energy and tactical skill in the retreat from Loudon and in the Battle of Campbell's Station. He foiled every effort of Longstreet to tie him down for a quick decision. Instead he lured Longstreet to Knoxville farther from Bragg. Both sides had to contend with mud, cold, hunger, and exhaustion. For Longstreet November 16 was a particularly disappointing day. If Wheeler's cavalry had been present instead of south of the river, Longstreet could have cut off Burnside and the campaign would have been won at the start. If McLaws' infantry had reached Campbell's Station less than an hour earlier, Longstreet would have won. If Jenkins had succeeded in turning Burnside's left, Longstreet would still have won. Longstreet blamed Jenkins' failure on Brigadier General Evander Laws, a rival of Jenkins for the command of Hood's old division. This discord in higher circles boded ill for the success of Longstreet's campaign.[28]

General Burnside had meanwhile ordered his staff engineer, Captain Orlando N. Poe, to make plans for the defense of Knoxville. This included the assignment of each military unit to a sector in the partially completed Confederate works about the town. Accordingly, each unit was ordered to its place as it arrived in the morning hours of the seventeenth. The men were at once told to dig entrenchments and artillery enplacements. Some of them had been under arms for four nights and three days without issuance of rations. Consequently, civilians of Knoxville, both Union and Confederate sympathizers, white men and Negroes, were similarly put to work. Captain Poe writes that the col-

[27] Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 273-74; McLaws' report, April 19, 1864, *ibid.*, 481-83; Longstreet's report, January 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 458; Jenkins to Sorrel, January 13, 1864, *ibid.*, 525-27; Burrage, "Retreat from Lenoir's and Siege of Knoxville," *loc. cit.*, 23-25; Longstreet, *Manassas*, 494-95; Poe, *Recollections*, 15-19.

[28] Longstreet, *Manassas, loc. cit.* For discussion see Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 223, 226, 288, 303; and Sanger, *Longstreet*, 228.

ored men, about two hundred in number, worked an average of eighteen hours per day for a week without complaint. On the other hand Thomas W. Humes says that several prominent Unionists, politically compromised with the Confederacy, left town. They included William G. Brownlow, Thomas A. R. Nelson, and O. P. Temple.[29]

About noon of the seventeenth Longstreet's advance guard reached Knoxville. In order to purchase time for entrenchment Burnside ordered his cavalry commander, Colonel William P. Sanders, to hold off Longstreet. Sanders dismounted a brigade of 700 men and took station on a hill near Kingston Pike, Knoxville, about 800 yards west of Third Creek. Here he was mortally wounded at 2:30 the next afternoon, on the eighteenth. His men then retired but by that evening the defenses of Knoxville were relatively continuous. The name of Sanders, who was a relative of Jefferson Davis, was honored by an order of Burnside changing the name of Fort Loudon (or Fort Buckner), a military work at the extreme west of town, to Fort Sanders. General Longstreet now had Burnside cut off from reinforcements and telegraphic communication, and the siege was fairly begun. Labor on the fortifications never ceased until Longstreet left on the night of December 4. By that time General William Tecumseh Sherman was to consider them truly formidable.[31] For the garrison the defense of Knoxville was to be much more a matter of digging than fighting.

An anonymous Union eyewitness, possibly a newspaperman, thus describes the first evening of the siege:

> All is quiet tonight. The immense basin formed by the surrounding hills is alive with animal life. Our vast trains, cattle, herds, hogs, and horses cover the valleys and hill-sides in inconceivable numbers. Standing on Temperance Hill, and looking toward the town, the innumerable campfires, like myriads of fiery stars, the piteous shrieks of a thousand famishing mules, the distant murmur of the bands of music, the hum of the camps, intermingled with the occasional sharp crash of musketry in front, make one pause and gaze upon the wierd reality as upon some horrible phantasm.

A few days later, November 24, he writes:

> At night, belligerent activity ceases. Our pickets suspend all animosities,

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[29] Poe's report, January 13, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 296, 302; Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers*, 246.

[30] Not to be confused with Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee, established by the British in 1756-57.

[31] For Sanders' exploit see Poe, *Recollections*, 25-28; and Alexander, "Longstreet at Knoxville," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, III, 747. For Sherman's remarks see Sherman to Rawlins, December 19, 1863, in William T. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2 vols. (New York, 1875), I, 381-82.

> and fraternize in the most cordial manner. In accordance with compacts, they come together and exchange their respective experiences of moving accidents by flood and field. The Ninth Corps and Longstreet's men are old opponents of Potomac memory, and have abundant mutual reminiscences of interest to exchange. At daylight, however, returning to their posts, the exhibition of a head or hand of either side is but an invitation to a hostile bullet.[32]

The best description of the topography and defenses of Knoxville at that time is given by Captain Poe.[33] He states that the town was located on the ridge on the north bank of the river. This ridge averages 150 feet in height above the river and 1,300 yards in width. It is cut by three streams named from east to west, First, Second, and Third creeks. They issue from a low valley north of the ridge. This valley is about 100 feet lower than the ridge and is about a mile wide. First and Second creeks were dammed by the Federals at the point where each enters the ridge, creating ponds protecting much of the north side of the ridge, especially First Creek to the east. Approach from the north across the valley was rendered more hazardous by the lack of trees or other cover for infantry caused by insatiable military demands for fuel. Along the northern base of the ridge ran the railroad, now a part of the Southern Railway, then known westward as the East Tennessee and Georgia and eastward as the East Tennessee and Virginia.

The three streams cut the ridge into sections. That east of First Creek is crowned by three hills, Mabry's Hill to the east, Temperance Hill to the northwest, overlooking the tracks, and Flint Hill to the southwest, overlooking the Tennessee River and the mouth of First Creek. In elevation these hills are respectively 230, 225, and 162 feet above the river. All three were protected by emplaced artillery and entrenched infantry. The section between First and Second creeks, now downtown Knoxville, then housing most of the little town's population of about 5,000, was protected by artillery and infantry works facing north along the line of Vine Street. The larger section of the ridge between Second and Third creeks, then largely a rural area, contains College Hill to the southeast, now the center of the University of Tennessee, and Fort Sanders to the north. These hills are respectively 160 and 198 feet above the river. They were also fortified, Fort Sanders in

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[32] Document 19, "The Siege of Knoxville, Tenn.," anonymous report in *Rebellion Record,* VIII, 251-55.

[33] Poe's report, January 13, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 294-303; Poe, *Recollections,* 19-35. The latter is more complete.

particular as we shall see. The Federals developed a continuous line of entrenchments, backed in places by second and third lines. In the east the line began at what is now McCammon Avenue in a ravine on the river about 1,000 yards east of the mouth of First Creek. It ran northeasterly about 1,300 yards to the east end of Mabry's Hill, and then westward along the north edge of the ridge, overlooking the railway, crossing First and Second creeks and joining the west end of Fort Sanders. It then went south, crossing Cumberland Avenue near Melrose Place and ending at the river near the foot of Sixteenth Street.

South of the Tennessee River are four hills then known from east to west as Sevierville Hill, Fort Stanley (overlooking the end of Gay Street), Fort Dickerson, and Fort Higley. Fort Stanley, the highest, rises 360 feet above the river. If these hills had been in Confederate hands Knoxville could have been bombarded and taken. This was the reason for Wheeler's raid of November 13-17. With these forts in Union hands General McLaws questions that Longstreet could have held Knoxville if he had taken it.[34]

The forts on the south side were connected with the town of Knoxville by the pontoon bridge Captain Poe had removed from Loudon at the end of October and set down at Knoxville just west of the mouth of First Creek on November 1. It was protected from Confederate rafts floated down from above by an iron cable of 1,000 feet and a log boom of 1,500 feet. This bridge was of enormous value to Burnside as it enabled him to shift troops rapidly from one side to the other, an advantage Longstreet did not have. Most of Burnside's cavalry was stationed south of the river and patrolled the country beyond.

It was the original plan, as we have seen, of Generals Bragg and Longstreet for the latter to quickly crush or drive out Burnside and return to Bragg. But Longstreet's correspondence shows that he was in no hurry to return to Bragg, whom he did not respect. He did not seem to worry about the latter's mounting problems. Rather he appealed frequently to Bragg for more troops. But in fairness to Longstreet, it must be admitted that Bragg's rather scanty correspondence does not show that he pressed Longstreet to return until November 22, the very eve of Bragg's disastrous defeat at Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga. Bragg was slow to realize his danger from Grant and the armies of Sherman,

[34] McLaws' report, April 19, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 492.

Thomas, and Hooker. Feeling secure on Missionary Ridge he generously, or tragically, planned as late as November 22 to send Longstreet more troops, the divisions of Buckner and Cleburne, which he estimated at 11,000 men. These were to be in addition to the 4,000 troops that Major General Sam. Jones had been requested to send from the Department of Western Virginia. And Longstreet, feeling that time would bring him more troops and also reduce Burnside by starvation, telegraphed Bragg as early as November 20 that he intended to take Knoxville by siege.[35] Clearly he was forgetting the original purpose of his mission.

For the purpose of his siege Longstreet established a line from Boyd's Ferry, east of Knoxville, around to the north and then south to the river near the present University of Tennessee College of Agriculture west of town. Captain Poe's survey of December-February, 1864, shows that this line ultimately ran from what is now the city water works around to the north parallel to East Fifth Avenue and then south to the river about 450 yards east of the mouth of Third Creek. More than half of this line, from the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad (called Tennessee and Kentucky on accompanying map) to the eastern end, was held by cavalry. Longstreet's infantry was massed west of Knoxville, whence the assault was to come. The Confederate commander did not at first station troops south of the river across from Knoxville, nor order this area patrolled by cavalry until November 30.[36]

Longstreet's failure to blockade Burnside south of the Tennessee River is one of the most interesting and perplexing questions concerning the siege of Knoxville. In his *Manassas to Appomattox Courthouse* he explains that he left the area south of the river to be occupied by troops from Virginia when they should arrive. This is not convincing. It blandly dismisses a complex problem. To the writer there seem to have been several reasons for Longstreet's strange course of action. First, we know that President Davis and General Bragg intended that Longstreet

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[35] Consult the correspondence of Longstreet and Bragg, November 20-25, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, pp. 721, 723, 732-33, 736, 739-40, 750. For discussion see Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet,* 258-61; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* III, 288-89; and Sanger, *Longstreet,* 229-30.

[36] *Map of the Approaches and Defenses of Knoxville, Tenn.*, surveyed by direction of Capt. O. M. Poe, Chief Engr., Dept. of the Ohio during Dec., Jan., and Feb., 1863-64, by Cleveland Rockwell and R. H. Talcott, U. S. Coast Survey; Wheeler to Sorrel, December 31, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 542; Longstreet to Martin, November 30, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 3, p. 769.

should destroy Burnside quickly and return immediately. This would rule out a long siege, such as a siege by starvation. On the other hand Longstreet was not eager to return to Bragg; hence he procrastinated and his actions were not consistent. He waited for more men, he invested Knoxville but not completely, and delayed from day to day his assault upon the town. It may be presumed that Longstreet would have blockaded Burnside on the south if the river had not presented difficulties. Burnside had a pontoon bridge and could shift troops rapidly. Longstreet could not. It is true that later, November 23, he rigged up a ferry and crossed artillery and protecting infantry to Cherokee Heights on the south side. But his purpose was to bombard Fort Sanders on the north side, not to blockade the south side.[87]

Finally, Longstreet seems to have had a faulty map or maps, and to have believed that the French Broad River, down which Burnside secretly drew supplies, joins the Holston below Knoxville rather than above it. O. P. Temple thinks that Longstreet mistook the Little River, seven miles below Knoxville for the French Broad. In this connection it may be significant that Burnside reported that Longstreet began the siege of Knoxville with cavalry patrols no further north than the Little River. The French Broad is a considerable stream which comes from the east and joins the Holston four miles above the center of Knoxville to form the Tennessee River as now defined. Temple, a contemporary Knoxville Unionist, has written that Richard Wilson of Rockford, the Rev. Dr. James Park, General Joseph Brooks, and Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey each attempted to tell Longstreet that the French Broad joins the Holston above Knoxville and should be guarded to cut off supplies reaching Burnside. He reports them as saying that Longstreet preferred to depend on his own map which showed the French Broad coming in below Knoxville. Captain John M. Brooks, son of General Brooks, similarly reports that a group of prominent Knoxvillians, including his father and Dr. Ramsey, tried to tell Longstreet the same thing. Longstreet "hooted at them and told them that they did not know what they were talking about, or else were unfriendly to him or his cause, as he knew and they knew that the mouth of the French Broad was some miles below Knoxville, and opposite the little village of Lenoir [mouth of the Little Ten-

[87] Longstreet, *Manassas*, 497-98; Burnside to Grant, November 28, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 269; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 459; Alexander to Sorrel, January 15, 1864, *ibid.*, 479; Alexander, *Memoirs*, 484.

nessee]. Each of them protested that he was mistaken but he refused to believe them and held to his own opinion." Ramsey in his *Autobiography* tells of his own private and fruitless conversations with Longstreet.[38] We can only conclude that Longstreet was willfully stubborn in resisting good advice. He was not his usual self.

As a result of Longstreet's failure to blockade Knoxville south of the Tennessee River, Burnside ordered over Captain George W. Doughty, a native of the area, to collect provisions from the Unionist population. Doughty is reported by Scott and Angel to have taken a detachment of what was then the Seventeenth Tennessee Cavalry, to have established headquarters at Bowman's Ferry, ten miles up the French Broad, and to have solicited supplies widely in Sevier and Jefferson counties, personally pledging the credit of the United States government. These supplies he floated at night down to Knoxville in some forty flatboats previously abandoned by certain Michigan troops. Other provisions came by wagon over the Sevierville road.[39] Longstreet seems to have taken no notice of Doughty's activities until November 30. Then he ordered General William T. Martin to take two brigades of cavalry and cut off the supplies reported coming to Knoxville from Sevier County by flatboat down the French Broad and by wagon. We hear nothing further of this order except possibly Dr. Humes' statement that food conditions in Knoxville grew worse after November 29.[40]

How effective were the efforts of Captain Doughty? We have no commissary statistics, only general information. Burnside reported on November 12 that he was running on a five-day reserve of flour. Grant hoped on November 14 to relieve Burnside in a week. Burnside on the fifteenth ordered General Parke at Knoxville to drive in cattle and hogs to last five or six days. Dr. Humes, a contemporary, writes that six or

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[38] O. P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 505-10; Burnside to Grant, November 21, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 269; John M. Brooks, "Battle of Fort Sanders" (MS in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, printed in *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, November 29, 1909); J. G. M. Ramsey, *Autobiography and Letters*, ed. by William B. Hesseltine (Nashville, 1954), 150. Temple suggests that Longstreet may have used a map such as *A Military Map of the Seat of War*, published by C. O. Perrin [*sic*] of Indianapolis in 1862 (p. 508, n. 2). However, the French Broad River appears on this map to join the Holston at Knoxville.

[39] Samuel W. Scott and Samuel P. Angell, *History of the Thirteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers Company* (Knoxville, 1903), 124-28; Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, 498-502; Dana to Stanton, December 6, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 263; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.*, 276. Temple refers in error to Doughty as "James A. Doughty" (letter of Richard H. Doughty to H. S. Fink, January 24, 1957).

[40] N. 36 *supra;* Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers*, 280.

seven thousand hogs were driven in. But Sherman's tardiness delayed Grant and the siege of Knoxville lasted longer than expected. Burnside's last message to Grant, dated November 22, said he could hold out for ten or twelve days. By November 28 word got through to General Willcox at Cumberland Gap that Burnside could last from six to eight days. Captain Poe estimated ten days, and Charles A. Dana, twenty days. Our anonymous Union eyewitness writes that they had no butter, chickens, eggs, vegetables but had plenty of pork, beef, flour, and meal, yet twice stated that the civilians suffered most, having no regular markets. By "plenty" he may have meant that they had meat and flour enough to get through the siege. William Todd of the Seventy-ninth (New York) Highlanders writes that his regiment at Fort Sanders got no rations December 1 and quarter rations of ground corn and cob, mixed, the next day. It is probable that Burnside, whatever he had, made drastic efforts to maintain a reserve. In his official report of November 13, 1865, he praised the work of Doughty and said he kept the army from "absolute want."[41] We can only conclude that Doughty's exertions helped but we cannot say by how much.

Burnside's horses and mules suffered terribly from lack of forage. Some useless animals were shot and burned. Others were dumped into the river, to be dragged out below by Colonel Alexander's Confederate artillerymen for the salvage of horseshoes. Animals that could walk were turned out to forage south of the river. Dr. Humes says that in their hunger they nipped the manes and tails of each other and consequently presented a strange appearance.[42]

Longstreet's siege of Knoxville was conducted with the hope of taking the town by storm with the help of the reinforcements expected from Bragg, but also with the hope that the town might meanwhile be starved into surrender. Consequently, plans for an assault were always in Longstreet's mind. He wanted General McLaws to storm the key

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[41] Burnside to Lincoln, November 12, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 128; Grant to Burnside, November 14, 1863, *ibid.*, 145-46; Burnside to Parke, November 15, 1863, *ibid.*, 157; Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers*, 246; Burnside to Grant, November 22, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 269; Willcox to Halleck, November 28, 1863, *ibid.*, Pt. 3, p. 265; Poe to Burnside, January 13, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, pp. 302-03; Dana to Stanton, December 6, 1863, *ibid.*, 263; Document 19, "The Siege of Knoxville, Tenn.," *loc. cit.*, 253, 255, 259; Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders*, 401-02; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 276.

[42] Buckley to Mauran, December 18, 1863, *ibid.*, 348; Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *ibid.*, 276; Alexander to Sorrel, January 15, 1864, *ibid.*, 480; Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers*, 272.

position of Fort Sanders November 21 or 22 but McLaws demurred, saying that the ditch in front of the fort should be further studied and that he preferred a daylight attack. Longstreet also once hoped that Fort Sanders might be successfully bombarded from Cherokee Heights, rising 360 feet above the south bank of the river, just beyond Fort Higley. Longstreet crossed guns and protecting infantry over to Cherokee Heights starting November 23 as we have seen. But Colonel E. P. Alexander, in charge of the artillery, then pronounced his ammunition too limited in quantity and quality and the distance, 2,400 yards, too great, and therefore the plan was abandoned with loss of precious time.[43]

Meanwhile, on November 22, Lieutenant General W. J. Hardee, one of Bragg's corps commanders, convinced his superior that the Confederate position on Missionary Ridge in the face of mounting Federal strength was so serious that Longstreet would have to be recalled without delay.[44] Accordingly, Bragg sent his chief engineering officer, Brigadier General Danville Leadbetter, who had much professional prestige, and who had served previously at Knoxville, to Longstreet with orders to induce him to attack at once, finish his mission, and return. At the same time Bragg recalled Cleburne's Division, which had been ordered, November 22, to Longstreet but not Buckner's smaller division which had gotten off a little earlier.

Leadbetter reached Longstreet late on November 25. The next morning the two generals, accompanied by Colonel E. P. Alexander, made a reconnaissance. They first considered an assault on Fort Sanders and then settled on Leadbetter's preference for an attack on Mabry's Hill at the extreme eastern end of the Union defenses. But on November 27 they gave up Mabry's Hill as the objective, since the valley to the north was more than a mile wide and devoid of trees or other cover. They again decided on Fort Sanders.[45]

It seemed a logical decision. The ground in front of the northwest bastion dipped toward the railroad in such a way that assailants could approach very near the fort while under cover, 80 yards according to

[43] McLaws to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 484; Longstreet to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *ibid.*, 458-59; Alexander, *Memoirs*, 484. Consult Sanger, *Longstreet*, 229.

[44] Hardee to Bragg, November 27, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 738.

[45] Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 460; Alexander, *Memoirs*, 483, 485-86. Consult Sanger, *Longstreet*, 231.

Lieutenant Samuel N. Benjamin in immediate command of the fort, or 120 yards according to Colonel Alexander. Further, says Alexander, large bodies of troops could mass under cover to the west near their bases.[46]

By this time Longstreet was ready for an immediate attack. He had been waiting for reinforcements, and on November 27-28 received all that he could expect from Bragg. They were far less than he had hoped for, Buckner's Division of 2,625 men, badly shod and clad, commanded by General Bushrod R. Johnson. Longstreet also received two cavalry brigades, November 27-28, shortly before his assault on Fort Sanders. They were commanded by General William E. Jones, sent by Major General Sam. Jones from southwestern Virginia. During all this time there were rumors of a battle around Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga, November 23, but there was no certain intelligence of the result.[47]

Fort Sanders was a small defense work begun by the Confederates and later developed by the Federals. From the survey of Captain Poe, Burnside's staff engineer, it appears to have crowned the west end of the ridge between the Cumberland Avenue of today and the Southern Railway. The western limits of the fort were about on Seventeenth Street where the monument of the United Daughters of the Confederacy now stands and where the ridge slopes westward towards Third Creek. Poe describes the fort as an irregular quadrilateral 125 yards on the south front, 95 on the west, 125 on the north, and 85 on the east. The east front was open, connecting with the lines of entrenchment running south and with those running east. But at the two western corners bastioned earthworks were built, it would seem, according to the classic principles of Vauban, with a profile of moat, embankment and parapet, and so constructed that the ditch in front of the walls could be swept by cannon fire from embrasures in the bastions above. The ditch was of varying depth. At the point attacked, the northwest angle, about Seventeenth Street and Laurel Avenue, Poe estimates that the moat was about twelve feet wide and from six to eight feet deep and in one place eleven feet deep. To this should be added the height

[46] Benjamin to Burnside, December 20, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 342; Alexander, *Memoirs*, 483.

[47] Johnson to Sorrel, n.d., *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 532; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 460; Longstreet, *Manassas*, 502.

of the steep embankment above, about thirteen feet, making a total average height of about twenty feet to be scaled by an attacking party. Colonel Alexander gives Captain Poe credit for erasing the berm or ledge between ditch and embankment, making the height above almost impossible to scale, especially when wet.[48] Generals Longstreet and Leadbetter and Colonel Alexander, viewing the fort with field glasses at a distance of about 400 yards, saw a Federal soldier cross the ditch. Longstreet decided that the ditch was about three feet deep, at least at some points, and five or six feet wide. On this estimate he made his fateful decision to attack. He did not realize that the ditch was generally much deeper and that planks were being used in places to cross it.[49]

The original plan, prepared by Colonel Alexander, Longstreet's artillery commander, called for an attack on the morning of November 28. Major Burrage writes that the Federals suspected something from the Confederate cheers and band music heard the night before. But since fog developed to obscure the view of the fort for Alexander's gunners, the attack was postponed to daylight of November 29. Alexander's revised plan called for twenty minutes of mortar fire followed by slow battery fire. Meanwhile, sharpshooters were to rush the Union pickets and get up as close as possible to the fort. Ten minutes of rapid battery fire from thirty-four guns, some of them on Cherokee Heights south of the river, were to follow. Then the northwest bastion was to be rushed by a bayonet charge of nine regiments, totalling about 4,000 men, emerging from the declivity in which lay the railroad. The sharpshooters and the artillery were to keep down the men in the fort during the charge. Alexander adds that if necessary pioneers with axes and spades could cut steps in the steep slope while protected by the sharpshooters and infantry. A break-through was expected following which Burnside's men were "to be driven through the town" as Freeman put it.[50]

The brunt of the attack was to be made by three brigades of

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[48] Poe to Burnside, January 13, 1864, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 299; Poe, *Recollections*, 33-34; and Alexander, "Longstreet at Knoxville," *loc. cit.*, III, 749. There are some valuable illustrations and a diagram of the fort in this volume (pp. 738, 739, 742, 747).

[49] Longstreet to Jenkins, November 28, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 757; McLaws' report, April 19, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, pp. 487-88; Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders*, 386, 392; Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, 492. Todd has a diagram of the northwest bastion (p. 388).

[50] *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 291.

McLaws' Division in columns of regiments. Humphrey's Brigade was to be on the right followed by Bryan's with Kershaw's in reserve for the break-through. Wofford's Brigade was to be on the left. To the left and rear of Wofford's men G. T. Anderson's Brigade of Jenkins' (Hood's) Division was to advance on the Federal entrenchments running east from the fort. Anderson had orders to incline to the right and hit the junction of fort and line of entrenchment if Wofford's Brigade failed. These were all veteran troops of the famous First Corps. In addition, Bushrod R. Johnson with two brigades of Buckner's Division were to support McLaws in the rear.

But at nine o'clock of the night before the attack, Longstreet upset Alexander's plan to the latter's dismay. McLaws persuaded him to order the sharpshooters to advance about ten o'clock that evening, so that they would be in position to cover the bayonet charge the next morning. This charge was to be preceded by only ten minutes of artillery fire more to encourage the infantry than anything else. Accordingly, the Union pickets were rushed beginning about 10 P.M. and after an hour or more of fighting the Confederate sharpshooters were in rifle pits close up to the fort. Burnside's entire command was at once alerted for the long-expected attack. Longstreet had lost the advantage of surprise that Alexander had intended.[51]

Both Jenkins and McLaws had misgivings about the wisdom of their assignments. The former on the evening of the twenty-eighth was told by General Archibald Gracie, Jr., who had been in Knoxville the preceding summer with Buckner, that at that time the ditch before the fort was four or five feet deep and the parapet eleven or twelve feet above the bottom of the ditch. Jenkins told this to McLaws and suggested the use of fascines, bundles of sticks, to fill the ditch. McLaws was pessimistic, having previously tried to find the necessary material. In alarm Jenkins wrote to Longstreet that same evening suggesting the possibility of re-forming his troops if repulsed. Longstreet replied in a famous letter saying he had seen a man cross the ditch the day before and he (Longstreet) judged it to be "at some points" three feet deep and five or six feet wide. Longstreet wrote further, "Do not listen to

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[51] Alexander, *Memoirs,* 486-87; McLaws' report, April 19, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 486-87; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.,* 460-61; Longstreet, *Manassas,* 502-03; Burrage, "Retreat from Lenoir's and Siege of Knoxville," *loc. cit.,* 29-30. Consult Eckenrode and Conrad, *Longstreet,* 262; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* III, 290-91; and Sanger, *Longstreet,* 232-33.

the idea of failing and we shall not fail. If we go in with the idea that we shall fail, we will be sure to do so. But no men who are determined to succeed can fail. Let me urge you not to entertain such feelings for a moment. Do not let anyone fail, or anything."

McLaws also wrote to Longstreet that evening, November 28, pointing out that there were rumors that General Bragg had been engaged at Chattanooga and suggesting that it would be prudent to await knowledge of the result. Longstreet replied to McLaws as he had to Jenkins. Freeman writes that it was ominous that the two senior officers who were to carry out the attack were skeptical about Longstreet's plans. One is reminded that nearly five months earlier Longstreet himself had doubted the wisdom of General Lee's decision to order the charge of Pickett at Gettysburg.[52]

Fort Sanders lay in the sector of Colonel William Humphrey's Third Brigade of Brigadier General Edward Ferrero's First Division of the Ninth Corps. This division held the line from the river north to Fort Sanders and then east to Second Creek. The officer in immediate command of the fort was a young West Pointer of the class of 1861, Lieutenant Samuel N. Benjamin, twenty-four years of age. He had twelve cannon, *viz.,* four twenty-pounder Parrots, six twelve-pounder Napoleons, and two three-inch guns from three regiments. To man the parapets and protect the gunners he had infantry detachments from several regiments, about 335 men. They with the gunners made a minimum total within the fort of 440 men or 220 to each bastion, according to Captain Poe.[53]

During the night the little garrison of the fort ate and slept under arms. The men were posted behind the parapets and in traverses standing in places in as much as six inches of mud, according to William Todd. They were ordered to keep quiet, keep their heads under cover, and when the battle began to shoot any head appearing over the parapet. One man in four was awake plus two officers and two noncommissioned officers and a picket detail of forty men just outside the northwest bastion where the attack was expected. Ammunition boxes

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[52] Jenkins to Longstreet, November 28, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 756; McLaws' report, April 19, 1864, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 488-89; Longstreet to Jenkins, November 28, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 3, p. 757; McLaws to Longstreet, November 28, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 491-92; Longstreet to McLaws, November 28, 1863, *ibid.,* 494. See Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* III, 291-93.

[53] Benjamin to Burnside, December 20, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 341-43; Poe to Burnside, January 13, 1864, *ibid.,* 295, 299; Poe, *Recollections,* 23, 35.

were opened, pouches filled, spare muskets loaded, and the cannon double and triple-shotted with grape and canister. Lieutenant Benjamin laid out rows of twenty-pounder shells with fuses cut to twenty seconds, to be rolled over the parapet as grenades.[54]

During the night Generals McLaws and Jenkins formed their men, Jenkins not finishing until 4 A.M. Colonel Alexander criticizes both for forming their columns too far back, from 800 to 1,000 yards rather than 150 to 200 yards, and thus losing some advantage of surprise. Dr. Humes writes that at dawn the citizens of Knoxville looked out their west windows toward Fort Sanders when they heard General Ferrero's division band playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the colors were hoisted. About 6:30 three Confederate signal guns flashed in succession, their shells flaming like meteors. This was followed by a slow cannonade by thirty guns for twenty minutes, more to encourage the Confederate infantry than anything else. Fort Sanders remained quiet. The forty Federal pickets outside the northwest bastion scurried around through the ditch to the south side of the fort and crossed inside over a plank. As the deep columns of the Confederates advanced in the gloom through the mud they tended to converge and veer left in spite of the efforts of their officers. When the men came up the hill and into view of the fort they charged with the bayonet and gave the familiar rebel yell. Some stumbled in telegraph wire stretched from stump to stump and some in a little *cheval-de-frise* made of brush, but only momentarily. As the northwest bastion of the fort had a blind sector facing straight ahead, and as the Confederate sharpshooter fire was intense, only one cannon *en barbette* could be fired, for a total of two rounds, together with some musketry. Consequently, the storming party reached the fort almost unscathed.[55]

When McLaws' men reached the ditch they hesitated momentarily and then plunged in by the hundreds to find it a death trap. The ditch was wide and deep and the scarp and embankment facing them steep, muddy, icy, and devoid of berm or other foothold. The men had no ladders, fascines, or other means of scaling the slope. The Federal

[54] Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders,* 382-83.

[55] Alexander, *Memoirs,* 487-88; McLaws to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 490, 501; Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers,* 274-75; Buckley to Mauran, December 18. 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, 343-44; Ferrero to Bowen, February 5, 1864, *ibid.,* 352-53; Poe, *Recollections,* 31-36. See Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* III, 293-94, and Sanger, *Longstreet,* 233.

cannon mounted in embrasures to command the ditch around the northwest bastion now opened with double and triple charges of canister, with devastating effect. Corporal George F. Moore reports that one shot killed eleven men. Stones, billets of wood, axes, and Lieutenant Benjamin's time-fused shells, some lit with his cigar, were thrown over the parapet. In spite of all this about fifty men by helping each other reached the parapet, only to be killed or captured. At the same time the Federal infantry in the trenches to the east and to the south of the fort, plus one cannon in the southwest bastion and another 500 yards south, near the Powell mansion, enfiladed the men not yet in the ditch. As the light brightened the firing got better and these men began to stream back, some muttering that they needed ladders. Anderson's brigade of Jenkins' Division, to the left and rear of McLaws' columns, now began to come up. It had been intended that they should hit the entrenchments to the east and rear of Fort Sanders. But they had been deflected to the right in the confusion of the advance, and therefore they rushed the north side of the fort again and again, and met the fate of McLaws' men.[56]

After about twenty minutes the fighting ceased. General McLaws wrote in his official report that when he saw his men retire he consulted with Generals Humphreys and Bryan and asked permission of Longstreet to withdraw, and obtained such permission. Longstreet's version, contained in his *From Manassas to Appomattox,* is somewhat different. He says he called off the attack when he met Major James M: Goggin, a West Point classmate whom he respected. Goggin told him that the men could not get through the wire entanglements without axes. Longstreet says he accepted the responsibility for calling off the attack on the basis of this report.[57] But since Longstreet relieved McLaws of his command on December 17 for alleged failure to render

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[56] George F. Moore, Letters and Diaries, 1862-65 (MS, Lawson-McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee), entry for November 29, 1863; Benjamin to Burnside, December 20, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 344; Ferrero to Bowen, February 5, 1864, *ibid.,* 353; Buckley to Mauran, December 18, 1863, *ibid.,* 348; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.,* 461; McLaws to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *ibid.,* 491, 504-05; Jenkins to Sorrel, January 13, 1864, *ibid.,* 528-29; Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders,* 389-91. Pollyanna Creekmore has written a short account of this battle, with a description of conditions in Knoxville at the time, "Knox County in Wartime, 1863-65," in *The French Broad-Holston Country,* ed. by Mary U. Rothrock (Knoxville, 1946), 138-42. This volume also contains an excellent panoramic photographic view of Knoxville in 1865 (pp. 148-49).

[57] McLaws to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 490; Longstreet, *Manassas,* 505-06. *Cf.* Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 461.

proper cooperation in this battle, it may be that Longstreet's version exhibits a disinclination to admit that he finally followed McLaws' advice lest it seem that McLaws had been right in the first place when he questioned the plan of attack. Major Goggin was McLaws' assistant adjutant general and would hardly have been roving over the battlefield without orders. It is therefore possible that McLaws reported to Longstreet in the person of Goggin. This may have been the origin of the Goggin affair as told by Longstreet.

Colonel Alexander believed that a second attack, if given proper artillery support, would have succeeded. But a Confederate prisoner later told Burnside, "General, I will tell you: our men just swear they are never going into that slaughter pen again, and when they wont go the ball wont roll."[58] No doubt Longstreet's reasons for calling off the attack were more complicated than the Goggin story. He knew his men, now he knew the nature of the ground, and also now probably felt that his generals were right. Everything had gone wrong during the campaign. With the failure of the first attack Longstreet gave way to discouragement.

As soon as it was apparent that the assault had ceased General Burnside offered General Longstreet a half-hour's truce for picking up the dead and wounded. The offer was gratefully accepted. About two hundred Confederates in the ditch were taken inside the fort as prisoners. According to Longstreet's official report his losses were 129 killed, 458 wounded, and 226 missing. Lieutenant Benjamin reported his losses as eight wounded and five killed.[59] The Federal losses were small because of the strict order that the garrison of the fort were to stay under cover. The truce was later extended to 7 P.M. Some more fraternization occurred. Colonel Alexander and Lieutenant Benjamin exchanged professional notes while common soldiers bantered each other. Some members of the Seventy-ninth New York Highlanders smuggled half a dozen or more Confederates, who said they were New Yorkers, inside the fort. One party of the Twenty-first Massachusetts and the Palmetto Sharp-shooters caught and shared a pig.[60]

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[58] Alexander, "Longstreet at Knoxville," *loc. cit.*, III, 750; Walcott, quoting *The Boston Journal*, January, 1864, in *Twenty-first Massachusetts*, 293.

[59] Confederate return of casualties, December 12, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 475; Benjamin to Burnside, December 20, 1863, *ibid.*, 344.

[60] Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders*, 398-400; Walcott, *Twenty-first Massachusetts*, 289.

Within a half hour after his defeat at Fort Sanders, General Longstreet began to receive some news of the fate of General Braxton Bragg and the Army of Tennessee at Chattanooga, intelligence which General McLaws had begged him the previous evening to discover before attacking Fort Sanders. A courier from Major General Robert Ransom at Rogersville placed in Longstreet's hands a telegram which President Jefferson Davis had sent to Ransom, November 27, for relay to Longstreet. It announced that Bragg had fallen back to Ringgold, Georgia, and asked Longstreet to cooperate with Bragg at once. Longstreet immediately gave orders for his wagon trains to start getting ready and sent off a message to Bragg saying he expected to start late the next day, November 30, or early December 1. Four hours later, on the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, Longstreet received direct news from Bragg. It came in a message from Major General Joseph Wheeler at Ringgold, dated November 26, announcing that Bragg's line at Missionary Ridge, before Chattanooga, had been broken, that his army had fallen back, and that Bragg wanted Longstreet to rejoin him if possible, otherwise to return to Virginia. In either case General Bragg wanted the return of Wheeler's cavalry, left with Longstreet under the command of General William T. Martin when Wheeler was detached November 24. Thus Longstreet learned of Bragg's defeat (November 24-25) at Chattanooga, a defeat which had been made the more certain by Longstreet's long absence from Bragg. Burrage writes that the next day, November 30, three Union cheers and the boom of a cannon informed Longstreet that Burnside had also learned of Bragg's fate and soon expected relief.[61]

Upon receipt of the news from Wheeler and Bragg, General Longstreet held a council of war with his principal commanders on the afternoon of November 29. As a result he sent Bragg a second dispatch saying that he deemed it impracticable to try to rejoin Bragg since Bragg could not help him, that he would retire to Virginia but would first continue the siege of Knoxville in order to draw off forces

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[61] Davis to Ransom, November 27, 1867, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 52, Pt. 2, p. 564; Longstreet to Bragg, November 29, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 761; Wheeler to Longstreet, November 26, 1863, *ibid.*, 760; Longstreet to Cooper, December 9, 1863, *ibid.*, 818; *id.* to *id.*, January 1, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 461-62; Burrage, "Retreat from Lenoir's and Siege of Knoxville," *loc. cit.*, 31. See Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 294-96.

from Grant.[62] We are reminded that similarly Burnside had retired to Knoxville in order to draw Longstreet away from Bragg. Under the circumstances Longstreet's decision at this time was a wise one. He could not reach Bragg's forces but he could, and did, lighten the pressure on them by drawing off General William Tecumseh Sherman, as we shall see. And there was always the chance that Burnside could be starved out. Certainly Longstreet did not personally care to rejoin Bragg, but in this case he could not have done so and was correct in not trying.

In the meantime General Grant at Chattanooga had been much worried about the fate of General Burnside at Knoxville, as we have seen. Burnside's last message, dated November 22, had said that he had rations to last ten or twelve days only. Accordingly, Grant feared that Burnside might be starved out by December 3. As soon as Bragg's army had been driven into Georgia, Grant ordered Major General Gordon Granger's Fourth Corps to march, November 28, to the relief of Knoxville. But not being satisfied, as he says in his *Memoirs,* with the energy of Granger, General Grant the next day ordered Sherman with two more corps, the Eleventh and the Fifteenth, also to march to Knoxville. Both generals marched east of the Tennessee River with Sherman in overall command of about 25,000 men. These troops had just gone through an exhausting battle at Chattanooga and a pursuit of Bragg and had had no time in which to revisit their camps for rations, clothes, tents, or other supplies. Granger's reported lack of energy is therefore understandable. Sherman writes that his men had left camp seven days earlier with two days' rations and a single coat or blanket per man. In spite of all this Sherman and Granger made forced marches. Sherman arrived in the area of Maryville the night of December 5, and rode in to confer with Burnside the next day. Granger arrived at Knoxville later the same day, December 6.[63]

In the interval General Grant contrived to let a courier with an autographed letter to Burnside fall into the hands of Longstreet. The

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[62] Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 461; Longstreet to Leadbetter, November 29, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 3, pp. 760-61; McLaws to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 499-500.

[63] Burnside to Grant, November 22, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 269; Grant, *Memoirs,* II, 92; Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 365-67; Sherman to Rawlins, December 19, 1863, quoted in Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 379. *Cf.* Burnside's report, November 13, 1865, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 278.

letter, dated November 29, announced to Burnside the approach of three relief columns. One, commanded by Sherman, was said to be approaching on the south side of the Tennessee River, a second led by General W. L. Elliot to be coming from Decherd, northwest of Chattanooga, and a third commanded by General John G. Foster to be marching from Cumberland Gap. The size of these forces was not given although only Sherman's was large. Longstreet reports the capture of this courier, December 1, and his decision, made the next day, to abandon the siege of Knoxville.[64] He could not afford to be caught between Sherman and Burnside. By withdrawing northwards he might draw these Union generals further from Grant, approach Virginia, and possibly meet and destroy the force under Foster.

Longstreet waited until he was certain of the near approach of Sherman before he retired. He ordered the railway bridge at Charleston and the pontoon bridge at Huff's Ferry destroyed. Sherman found three locomotives and forty-eight cars had been run off the ruined trestle into the Tennessee River at Loudon where Burnside had dumped a train five weeks before. For three days, December 2, 3, and 4, the Union garrison of Knoxville could detect signs of Confederate withdrawal. On the night of December 4 the last of Longstreet's men left during a severe rainstorm. Many were reported without shoes. The sick and wounded were left behind. Some Tennessee troops deserted. The army marched eighteen miles to Blaine's Cross Roads the first day. There it met Major General Robert Ransom, arrived from Virginia, who brought perhaps 4,000 infantry and cavalry. By December 9 Longstreet was at Rogersville, sixty-five miles northeast of Knoxville, hoping to intercept Foster and 3,500 to 5,000 Federals coming from Cumberland Gap.[65]

When Sherman arrived in Knoxville, December 6, Burnside was in an expansive mood. He had come through the siege successfully and he now expected to be detached and to go home on leave. Major General John G. Foster, a protegé from the early days of the Ninth Corps, was en route via Cumberland Gap to take his place. Burnside took Sherman

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[64] Grant, *Memoirs,* II, 94; Grant to Burnside, November 29, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 273; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, p. 462; Longstreet, *Manassas,* 510.

[65] Sherman to Rawlins, December 19, 1863, quoted in Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 379-80; Johnson to Sorrel, January (n.d.), 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 533; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.,* 462; Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders,* 402-04. For estimates of the size of Ransom's and Foster's commands see Alexander, *Memoirs,* 481; and Grant to Sherman, November 29, 1863, quoted in Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 366.

for a tour of the defenses of Knoxville, the completeness of which, built up during eighteen days of siege, amazed Sherman. Burnside entertained his guest at a turkey dinner complete with silverware and white napery, a dinner arranged with unusual exertion by his staff. As a result Sherman in his *Memoirs* questioned Burnside's reported shortage of supplies. Both Captain Poe and O. P. Temple have told of the special efforts made by Burnside's staff to find the materials for this dinner.[66]

The sudden junction of large Union forces around Knoxville led to the problem of their use against Longstreet at Rogersville, sixty-five miles away. Burnside told Sherman that the Army of the Ohio could handle Longstreet if assigned Granger's Fourth Corps, about 10,000 men. Accordingly, Sherman was released and Granger retained. This proved to be Burnside's greatest mistake of the campaign. It may be laid to the optimism and confidence which were characteristic of him and were sometimes faults. The Federals were due to be deceived in any notion that Longstreet was soon going back to Virginia. Burnside's own men were too worn out, too short of supplies, and particularly too short of wagon and cavalry horses to operate against Longstreet. Granger's men of the Fourth Corps were perhaps in worse condition. They had gone through the Battle of Missionary Ridge and then had marched to Knoxville without taking time to rest or visit their camp to get tents, blankets, or coats for December weather. Granger and his officers protested bitterly but to no avail. As a result of Burnside's release of Sherman, two armies, the Army of the Ohio and Longstreet's First Corps, were a burden upon the resources of the people of East Tennessee that winter, reducing them to misery. As a rule the Army of the Ohio paid for what it got, but Longstreet, being in hostile territory, was not under that necessity. Sherman must have done nothing to change Burnside's mind about releasing him. He had said to Grant that he had a "horror" of East Tennessee, that he disapproved of the policy of occupying the area, and thought it should be stripped and abandoned. He lived up to his philosophy on his return trip for he took his time and reported that his hungry men grew "shining fat" from their pickings.[67]

[66] N. 31 *supra;* Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 367-68; Poe, *Recollections,* 46-67; Temple, quoting *Chattanooga Times,* December, 1894, in *East Tennessee and the Civil War,* 496-97.

[67] Sherman to Grant, December 1, 11, 1863, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, pp.

Longstreet shrewdly decided to stay in upper East Tennessee if possible. After all, he had come West with great hopes for effecting a major stroke of fortune for the Confederacy. He was not the kind to give up easily. His decision to stay in East Tennessee would keep him in railway communication with Virginia, he could subsist his army on a population largely Unionist, and he hoped his presence would have a restraining effect on any Federal plans for cutting the deep South through Georgia or Alabama. During the winter he was to turn over in his mind ambitious plans for the invasion of Kentucky or central Tennessee by which he hoped to force the recall of Union troops further south. In a way he wished to do what General John B. Hood tried to do by invading central Tennessee almost a year later. All of Longstreet's plans hinged on getting the necessary men and supplies. But these he was never to receive.[68]

A force in pursuit of Longstreet got off at 7 A.M., December 7, the day after the conference with Sherman. It was commanded by Major General John G. Parke, Burnside's second-in-command.[69] Burnside himself waited in Knoxville for his relief, Major General John G. Foster. Foster arrived December 10 and assumed command the next day. Burnside left December 12 for his home in Rhode Island and later reassignment. His career in East Tennessee was over.

General Parke's army, consisting of 8,000 or 9,000 infantry plus perhaps 4,000 cavalry,[70] was drawn from the Army of the Ohio rather than from Granger's Fourth Corps. They had been much weakened by the siege and were short of supplies of all kinds. Conditions in the Confederate army were similar if not worse. It was a case of one destitute army pursuing another of the same kind but with its spirit unbroken. William Todd of the Seventy-ninth (New York) Highlanders dryly remarks, "It is true that we were 'driving' them but they

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297, 382. For civilian hardships see Thomas W. Humes, *Reports to the East Tennessee Relief Association*, 1865-68 (Knoxville, 1866, 1868); Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers*, 301-33, 393-97; and Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, 512ff.

[68] Longstreet, *Manassas*, 540-46; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 307-10.

[69] A small detachment was also sent to Gatlinburg to drive out a Confederate force, largely Cherokee Indians under Major William H. Thomas, guarding Alum Cave. Palmer's report, December 11, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, pp. 438-39; Jeanette S. Greve, "Traditions of Gatlinburg," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 3 (1931), 74-76.

[70] Burnside to Foster, December 7, 1863, *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, p. 353; Foster to Halleck, February 21, 1864, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 286.

did not run very fast, and our advance troops didn't seem particularly anxious to hurry them."[71]

An advantage which General Parke had enjoyed up to this time disappeared December 12 when Longstreet realized that Sherman had started back toward Chattanooga and was not any longer with the Army of the Ohio. Longstreet decided to fall upon Parke's advance troops, three brigades of cavalry and one of infantry at Bean's Station, and destroy them. The attempt was made Decemmber 14 but failed due to the tardiness of the Confederate cavalry under General William T. Martin. Parke fell back to Blaine's Cross Roads, eighteen miles from Knoxville, where he was reinforced by the two divisions of Granger's Fourth Corps which Foster had sent up from Knoxville.[72]

But there was no battle at Blaine's Cross Roads. Driving snow, cold, and the exhaustion of men and animals prevented. Longstreet accused McLaws of delaying in order to feed his men. Longstreet writes, "There seemed [to be] so strong a desire for rest rather than to destroy the enemy that I was obliged to abandon the pursuit, although the enemy were greatly demoralized and in some confusion." It is literally true that both armies were too exhausted to fight. Officer after officer on both sides attested to most grievous shortages in rations, blankets, clothes, and shoes. Longstreet reported on December 16, "We shall be obliged to suspend active operations for want of shoes and clothing." The next day Foster reported to Grant that his men were seriously lacking in shoes, clothing, and ammunition, and could not attack due to freshets. The same day Sorrel, Longstreet's assistant adjutant general, wrote apologetically to General Martin, commanding the cavalry, to say that the infantry could not operate due to want of shoes and clothing but that he hoped the cavalry, being mounted, could do so. On the other hand, the men of Granger's Corps, brought up to reinforce Parke as we have seen, were reported December 8 and 14 to lack shoes, blankets, shirts, overcoats, and shelter, and to be suffering from rheumatism, diarrhea, pneumonia, and typhoid fever.[73]

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[71] Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders,* 406.

[72] Foster to Halleck, February 21, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 286; Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *ibid.,* 463; Longstreet, *Manassas,* 512-15.

[73] Longstreet to Cooper, January 1, 1864, *O.R.,* Series I, Vol. 31, Pt. 1, p. 464; *id.* to *id.,* December 16, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 3, p. 837; Foster to Grant, December 17, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 1, p. 284; Sorrel to Martin, December 17, 1863, *ibid.,* Pt. 3, pp. 838-39; Granger to Burnside, December 8, 1863, *ibid.,* 358; Wood to Selfridge, December 14, 1863, *ibid.,* 408.

As a result of the Battle of Blaine's Cross Roads Longstreet transferred his troops to the south side of the Holston River, December 21, and established winter quarters at Russellville. Here he had direct railroad contact with Virginia. The Union forces continued in occupation of the area north of the river from Cumberland Gap to Knoxville, and of the entire valley from there south to Chattanooga. The winter was one of the coldest on record, and both sides, soldiers and civilians, suffered severely. There was no more important fighting. On April 7, 1864, Longstreet was ordered to rejoin Lee. For all practical purposes this ended the campaign in East Tennessee.

In conclusion, first we may ask whether Sherman was correct in doubting that East Tennessee should have been occupied by Union forces? If Burnside had not occupied East Tennessee when Rosecrans occupied Chattanooga, Longstreet would have reached Bragg in full force by direct railroad connection through Knoxville and the result of the Chickamauga campaign would have been different, perhaps still more in Bragg's favor. Cumberland Gap would not have fallen September 9 and Kentucky and central Tennessee would have continued under menace by the Confederates. The grain and meat of East Tennessee would have been available to Lee's hungry troops by a short railroad haul. The political advantage of holding East Tennessee would have continued to reside with the South, a very great if intangible factor. Could the Unionists have maintained their base at Chattanooga in the face of a threat down the railroad from Virginia? Perhaps they could. But they had a great superiority in manpower and were entitled to use it. They could not have added the Army of the Ohio to the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga because the latter force itself taxed to capacity the supply facilities of the Louisville and Nashville and the Nashville and Chattanooga railroads. By occupying the Valley of East Tennessee Burnside not only cut off Bragg but drew off forces, i.e., Longstreet's, which Bragg could not spare. He thus contributed greatly to the decisive Union victory at Missionary Ridge.

Second, in what way was the East Tennessee campaign a test of Longstreet and Burnside as independent military commanders? There seems to be no reason to challenge the conclusions of Eckenrode and Conrad, Freeman, and particularly Sanger regarding Longstreet. Longstreet was a superb defensive tactician under Lee, and served best

under Lee. He also rose magnificently to the occasion as an offensive tactician at Chickamauga. But Longstreet entered East Tennessee a disappointed and frustrated man, and became more so. He believed he could have reversed the fortunes of war in the West if given command, and he thought that Bragg was losing the war. Consequently, Longstreet felt it was useless to help Bragg and as soon as he got away he really left Bragg to shift for himself. His bitterness warped his normal good judgment. He relied on faulty intelligence and careless tactics at Knoxville, and quarreled with his generals. However, his strategy of staying in East Tennessee in the winter of 1863-64 was sound. But all in all Longstreet was far from his best in East Tennessee.

Burnside on the other hand shows up much better. He successfully occupied East Tennessee and maintained amicable relations with its population. His strategy of retiring to Knoxville and drawing off Longstreet from Bragg was exactly right and his tactics at Lenoir's Station, Campbell's Station, and Knoxville were most skillful. His chief errors were his tardiness in realizing Rosecrans' danger at Chattanooga and his failure to use Sherman to drive Longstreet from East Tennessee. Withal, Burnside showed himself to be a commander of calmness and resolution with a deep confidence in himself. He proved to be the right man in the right place. He and Longstreet were to meet frequently again on the battlefields of Virginia in 1864 as commanders of their beloved Ninth and First corps. Longstreet has been thoroughly studied. Burnside, in view of his long and important career, deserves a competent monograph.

Finally, what may we say of the rank and file of both armies? In American military history few troops have suffered greater hardships. They were usually hungry, often cold, wet, and sick, and devoid of almost all the small comforts which contribute much to a soldier's morale. In addition Longstreet's men were unpaid and fighting a losing war. The common soldiery on both sides were humble men. They had not started this war, they were poorly educated by modern standards, but they had a faith and constancy which we might well emulate as we face the problems of today.

THE ANDREW JOHNSON HOMESTEAD AT GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE

By Ernest Allen Connally

The home of Andrew Johnson (1808-75), seventeenth President of the United States (1865-69), has been restored to the condition in which he knew it in the last years of his life (pls. I, II). Usually called the Johnson Homestead, this attractive two-story brick house is situated on South Main Street in Greeneville, Tennessee. It is not the only house Johnson lived in, or owned, in Greeneville; it is, however, the one most closely identified with his rise to fame and historical importance. Johnson owned the house from 1851 to 1875; it was his residence when he was elected governor of Tennessee, United States senator, vice-president of the United States, and when he succeeded Lincoln to the presidency. It was the seat of his retirement afterwards. After his death the house was continuously occupied by three generations of descendants, who conscientiously preserved everything associated with the President; and when restoration began in 1956 the house was still filled with Johnson's furniture, books and papers, official relics, and countless personal belongings. Here was an important presidential household virtually complete, essentially as it had been left. This extraordinarily fortunate (and rare) circumstance made it possible to restore the interior with pieces of undoubted authenticity, which had always been on the spot. Several trunk-loads of papers and personal accounts assisted in planning the restoration of the building itself (which had been modernized several times) with an uncommon degree of accuracy. Thus there was practically no conjecture in the work, and with the completion of the restoration, in the autumn of 1957, the historic ensemble—house, grounds, and furnishings—stands once again as in 1869-75.

The Johnson Homestead is one of several historical sites in Greeneville relating to the career of Andrew Johnson. Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, of respectable yeoman ancestry, Johnson was left fatherless at the age of four; as a runaway tailor's apprentice he crossed the mountains into East Tennessee in 1826, when he was eighteen years old. The following year he married Eliza McCardle, who helped him acquire

the rudiments of an education, and in 1830 he purchased the famous Tailor Shop[1] (at the northwest corner of Depot and College Streets) where he established himself in trade, and in politics. Already, in 1829, he had been elected alderman; in 1831 he was mayor of Greeneville, proceeding rapidly to the state legislature, where he served in both houses, and in 1843 to the national Congress. Across College Street from the Tailor Shop stands the small, two-story brick Kerbaugh House (privately owned), which Johnson built for himself in 1838. As a congressman, he moved from there to the Homestead, which was his residence while his career attained national dimensions. When he died he was buried at Greeneville on a hilltop of his own selection, where his family raised a tall shaft. Three of these sites have become public property. The family burial ground was given to the federal government in 1908 as a national cemetery. The Tailor Shop was sold by Johnson's descendants to the state of Tennessee in 1921[2] and subsequently enclosed with a protective structure. It was purchased by the federal government in 1942, when the Homestead similarly became national property. These three—Tailor Shop, Homestead, and Cemetery —constitute the official "Andrew Johnson National Monument," which was authorized by act of Congress in 1935 and established by proclamation of President Roosevelt in 1942, under the administration of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

Although the Homestead was purchased in 1942 large-scale work was postponed for some time, because of the Second World War, until congressional appropriations made it possible to start in 1956. The restoration was based on detailed examination of the structure[3] and study of all available documents pertaining to it. Thus it was also possible to assemble an architectural history of the house, embodied in an official report,[4] from which this paper is drawn. As we shall see,

[1] At public auction, July 30, 1830. Deed of Conveyance, Feb. 24, 1831; Richard M. Woods, Sheriff, to A. Johnson, for $51.00 a part of lot no. 68 in the town of Greeneville, "whereon there [is] . . . a Smith Shop." Greene County, Deed Book 15, p. 396. References to property transactions hereafter cited are all in the records of Greene County.

[2] For $5,000. Warranty deed executed by A. J. and Mattie B. Patterson, July 21, 1921, Deed Bk. 106, p. 125.

[3] Detailed measured drawings of the existing structure and restoration plans were prepared for the National Park Service, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction (Philadelphia). Inked tracings of the measured drawings have been made a part of the Historic American Buildings Survey for deposit in the Library of Congress (Washington).

[4] Ernest Allen Connally, Architectural Survey Report, Andrew Johnson Homestead (123 pp., 83 illus.) and Supplement (32 pp., 32 illus.) MSS. in Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, N.P.S. In preparation of the report thanks are due to Ben

the Johnson Homestead was originally built by James Brannan in 1849-51, purchased by Andrew Johnson in 1851, and enlarged by him in 1868-69 (to which state it has been restored), comprehensively remodelled by his daughter Martha Patterson in 1885, further enlarged and modified in 1901 and succeeding years (pls. III-VIII).

I

The Johnson House was erected on a portion of Lot 51 lying just outside the original southern limits of the town of Greeneville as laid out for Robert Kerr in 1786. The existing brick house was preceded on that site by an earlier house, probably a small wooden structure, which is first mentioned in a lawsuit of 1835, when the property was described simply as a "house and lot with the Appurtenancy thereunto belonging."[5] This property was ordered sold at public auction to satisfy the creditors of Jonathon Willis, deceased, and was acquired (September 12, 1835) by Joseph I. Spelling, after the claims of one Alfred Russell had been satisfied.[6] Shortly afterwards (February 20, 1836) Spelling executed to Merryman Payne the power of attorney "to make to William Brannon [*sic*] a good and sufficient Title in fee simple for a Lot or parcel of ground in the town of GreeneVille supposed to contain about one half acre and 16 poles and being the same Lot purchased of Jonathon Jonathon [*sic*] Willis Decd. and decreed to me by the Chancery Court of GreeneVille."[7] William Brannan received a deed of conveyance five years later (October 16, 1841), when he had completed payment for the property;[8] however, he soon found himself in financial distress and on February 3, 1845, executed a deed of trust to James

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Davis, Superintendent of the Andrew Johnson National Monument, who generously made available his study of the Johnson MSS. in the Library of Congress; to Richard Doughty, M.A., historian of Greeneville, who shared his abundant knowledge and introduced the architects to numerous historical buildings; and to James F. O'Gorman, architect, who proved an invaluable assistant. Particular acknowledgement is made to the contributions of Henry A. Judd (National Park Service), Supervising Architect of the Johnson project, with whom it was a pleasure to collaborate in the planning and who directed the actual restoration, during which he patiently supplied information and photographs for this article. And most especially, an inestimable debt of gratitude is owed to Mrs. Margaret Patterson Bartlett, great-granddaughter of Andrew Johnson and last occupant of the Johnson Homestead, who, at considerable personal inconvenience, graciously cooperated by making available a large number of Johnson's private papers, without which the report could have been neither complete nor accurate.

[5] Joseph I. Spelling *vs.* Alfred Russell *et al.*, original bill dated May 13, 1835, Chancery Court, Minute Bk. 1, p. 273.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Bills of Sale, Bk. 1, pp. 113-14.

[8] Deed Bk. 20, p. 565.

I. Johnson House, facade, in 1875; photographed on the day of Johnson's funeral (August 3, 1875) by L. W. Keene, of Jonesboro, and published in a series of stereopticon views of that occasion.

II. Johnson House, facade, restored to the period 1869-75; photographed in September, 1957, restoration nearing completion. (Henry A. Judd)

III. Johnson House, from southwest, in 1865; the earliest known view of the house, published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly,* September 23, 1865, from an (unknown) ambrotype by Marsh and Reiff, Greeneville.

IV. Johnson House, from southwest, after remodelling of 1885; photographed by William H. Brown, Greeneville.

V. Johnson House, from the south, showing additions of 1901. (National Park Service)

VI. Johnson House, from southwest, restored to the period 1869-75; photographed in September, 1957, restoration nearing completion—fences and sidewalks yet unfinished. (Moody Studio)

VII. Johnson House, from northeast, showing remodelling of 1885 and subsequent accretions; photographed in July, 1956, when restoration work began. (Moody Studio)

VIII. Johnson House, from northeast, restored to the period 1869-75; photographed in September, 1957, restoration nearing completion—painting, stairs, and railings yet unfinished. (Henry A. Judd)

Britton (trustee) to secure debts in the amount of $345.83 owed to Lowry, Brown & Co., Craigmiles & Brown, and to G. Jones and J. C. Greenway.[9] Brannan died one month later (March 3, 1845). And apparently nothing could be realized from his estate; for Andrew Johnson, who was Brannan's security on an injunction bond and therefore "liable in the event that nothing Can be made out of the Estate of William Brannon decd." for principal, interest, and costs amounting to $204.14, was obliged to pay that sum to the Chancery Court in Greeneville (November 11, 1848).[10] From this point forward it would appear that the Brannan heirs owed at least a moral obligation to Andrew Johnson, although it is not clear to what extent this influenced the ultimate disposition of the property.

Meanwhile the house and lot were transferred (June 3, 1846) to John A. Brown, agent for William Brannan's creditors, who issued (November 17, 1847) an "order to James Britton as trustee and directed him to Execute and Make James Brannan a Deed for Said House and Lot . . . he having paid the purchase money with the interest accrued on the Same."[11] James Brannan had settled the debt of his late father in the amount of $345.83, plus interest, for which the property had been encumbered and was therefore entitled to the house and lot. However, the deed to James Brannan was not executed until June 1, 1849.

In these several transactions there is no suggestion that the house, endlessly changing hands, was replaced or substantially improved. In all likelihood the house first mentioned in 1835 was the one James Brannan acquired in 1849. According to verbal tradition among Johnson's descendants in Greeneville, the existing brick house was built by James Brannan in 1846 and finished by Andrew Johnson after he purchased it in 1851. Considering the dates indicated in the deed records, Brannan's construction would more probably have occurred between the years 1849 and 1851. Certainly the house had been built before September 10, 1851, when James Brannan conveyed to Andrew Johnson:

> a certain lot or parcel of ground lying and being situate on Main Street, in the South West end of the Town of Greeneville . . . upon which there is a *brick house and other buildings* [italics supplied], the same being the present residence of the said James Brannan and which

[9] Bills of Sale, Bk. 2, p. 293.
[10] Receipt and court bill, in private Johnson papers, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.
[11] Deed Bk. 23, p. 409.

> is . . . the same lot or parcel of ground conveyed by Merryman Payne, attorney in fact for Joseph Spellings to William Brannon, dec'd. and which was afterwards conveyed by James Britton as Trustee of the William Brannon dec'd. to the said James Brannon on the first day of June 1849.[12]

In addition to building a new house, Brannan had increased the size of the property by the acquisition of "a narrow strip of land adjoining the above described lot at the South End [more correctly the east side] of the same 8 feet wide . . . on which there is a spring house,"[13] with an outlet to Richland Creek beyond. The enlarged lot was then "supposed to contain between a half and three quarters of an acre," with a frontage on Main Street of 114 feet—almost three times the width of a typical lot. The house stood near the northern boundary, leaving a large low-lying area to the south. For his fine new house Johnson paid $950.00 cash and deeded to James Brannan town lot number 77, at the north-east corner of Water (College) and Main Cross (Depot) Streets, including Johnson's former residence (the Kerbaugh House).

The tradition that Johnson completed the house is probably true. If so, however, his additions were very likely confined to interior details, which in the original part of the house are of two kinds. Among his personal papers still in private possession[14] there is an undated ledger sheet, included among other accounts of the early 1850's, itemizing interior carpentry. Since there is no other known building owned by Johnson at this time to which the account could reasonably refer, it may very well indicate what he did to complete the house:

To flooring	$ 24.00
To doors	8.00
2 chimney pieces	10.00
To stairs	10.00
To wash boards [baseboards?]	14.86
to [illegible] bording down stairs	19.00
To trimming doors and windows	24.00
	$109.86

Who was the actual designer, or architect, of the brick house which James Brannan sold to Andrew Johnson? According to local tradition it was Brannan himself who designed and built the house, burning the bricks for it in the backyard, where he prepared similar materials for other Greeneville houses of his own design and workmanship. This is probably true, although the question cannot be answered with precision

[12] *Ibid.*, 24, p. 639.
[13] *Ibid.* James Brannan acquired this strip from John Dickson, June 7, 1849.
[14] Of Mrs. Bartlett.

for lack of documentary evidence. No original architectural drawings or building accounts of the house are known to exist, which is true of most historical American houses; and, equally true elsewhere, there is a general scarcity of readily available information concerning early builder-architects, who in East Tennessee left a fine heritage. Therefore, some comments on the Brannan family[15] may serve as a starting point for further study of a neglected aspect of regional history.

James Brannan (1820-1901) was the son of William Brannan (d. 1845), a native of Winchester, Virginia, who moved to Greeneville as a young married man early in the nineteenth century and once owned the site of the Johnson House, as we have seen. William Brannan was the father of eleven children, including seven sons,[16] most of whom were at some time engaged in the business of wagon-building in Greeneville. However, according to family tradition, son James was a brick-mason and builder in Greeneville until the Civil War. Apparently a convinced Confederate, he sold land at Brannan's Cross-Roads in 1863 and departed for Georgia, where he died "almost penniless" in 1901. His nearest surviving relatives in Georgia knew him only as a black-smith and buggy-maker, although the story that he sold his house to Andrew Johnson persisted.[17] His older brother George Brannan (born 1810), although a wagonwright in the 1830's, is also reported to have been in the business of brick-laying and house-building, together with James and possibly other brothers. According to the same family source, George Brannan moved from Greeneville, before the Civil War, to Jefferson City, Tennessee, where he built "the brick college at Mossy Creek."[18] Some of the early buildings of Carson-Newman College, which was founded in 1851 as Carson College, may thus have been his work. It appears then, from family sources alone, that George Brannan was a builder-architect of Greeneville in the 1840's, associated with his brother James, who carried on in the 1850's. It is entirely probable that James Brannan designed and built the Johnson House, perhaps in collaboration with brother George.

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[15] Derived from interviews in Greeneville, July, 1956, with Mr. Walter Brannan, who kindly permitted examination of a number of letters and records of his family.

[16] John (b. 1806), George (b. 1810), William (b. 1816), Isaac (b. 1818), James (b. 1820), Allen (b. 1825), Robert (b. 1832). John, George, William (Jr.), and Isaac are known to have been wagon-makers.

[17] Mrs. Mallie (Farr) Hardy to E. A. Connally, July 25, 1956. James Brannan died at Grovetown, near Augusta, Georgia. It is believed that none of his business papers survived.

[18] As related by Mr. Walter Brannan.

Although the subject wants further study, it is possible that the Brannans were also responsible for a number of other Greeneville houses which exhibit characteristics, especially in the brickwork, so similar to the Johnson House that the same authorship is reasonably suspected. These include the little Kerbaugh House, which was built for Andrew Johnson in 1838; the Harold House (at the northwest corner of South Main and McKee Streets), said to have been built in 1842; the Lowry-Snapp House (216 West Irish Street) and the Rumbough-Hacker House (215 West Irish Street), both believed to date from the decade 1840-50.[19]

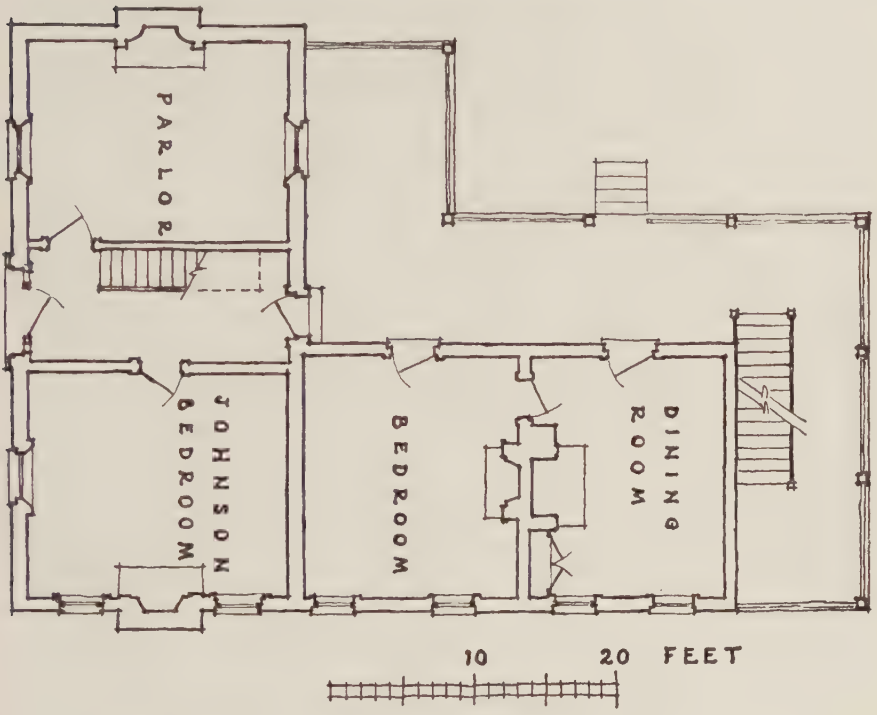
When Johnson moved into his new house in 1851 he was lodged in style satisfactorily comparable to that enjoyed by the gentry of Greeneville. The tailor's progress had been rapid and entirely remarkable. It was twenty-two years since he had first been elected to public office, as alderman; now, at the age of forty-two, he had been a member of Congress for eight years. In the succeeding years Johnson was away from Greeneville most of the time; and after he achieved national prominence, his house, undoubtedly his pride in 1851, was usually described as "a commonplace, respectable brick dwelling."[20] It had remained unchanged when he was elected governor of Tennessee, when he went to the United States Senate and ultimately to the White House. In fact, it was not enlarged until the last year of Johnson's tenure as president of the United States.[21]

The character of the original house of 1849-51 can be reconstructed with accuracy, due chiefly to the abundant internal evidence of the structure itself and to two early views of the house (pls. I, III), showing the facade before it had been substantially altered. As first built (figs. 1, 2), the Johnson House was a simple brick structure consisting

[19] According to Mr. Richard Doughty.

[20] J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford, 1866), 237-38.

[21] Nevertheless, the decision to restore the house to its final state during Andrew Johnson's lifetime is not only desirable, in revealing the building with its most important historical associations, but also entirely consistent with practice in similar circumstances. Many important presidential mansions were completed late in the life of the owner. Mount Vernon was several times enlarged; work was in progress during most of the Revolution and to some extent after Washington was president. Jefferson's beloved Monticello was the object of his architectural attentions until the end of his life. As it stands today, the Hermitage, near Nashville, could not possibly be recognized by Mrs. Rachael Jackson, who died the year of her husband's election to the presidency, after which the house was twice enlarged and embellished, being finished less than two years before Jackson retired from Washington.



1. Johnson House, first floor plan, restored to the period 1869-75. (Author)

of a two-story block at front and a one-story ell.[22] The house was built directly upon the street, without a front yard of any kind, after the Northern Irish fashion common to early Greeneville, Jonesboro, Abingdon (Virginia), and other related settlements. The house was entered through a central stair-hall nearly eight feet wide, flanked on either side by a rectangular room approximately fifteen by eighteen feet. The same plan was repeated above, and there were chimneys with fireplaces at each end of the front block. The ell contained two rooms, separated by a chimney-wall and fireplaces, with a floor two steps lower than the level of the front block. Since the grade descended steeply from the front of the house eastwards, there were two corresponding rooms under the ell, one serving as a kitchen, the other (never finished) probably intended for a servants' room. Along the north side of the ell was an

[22] The brickwork of the existing second story of the ell is distinctly different from that of the older parts of the house; there is a visible butt-joint in the brickwork of the south wall of the second story (pl. VI); the original chimney cap of the ell and brick cornice of the main block are still visible in the attic; and the outline of the original rafters was discovered on the east wall of the main block when plaster was removed.

open porch, which wrapped around the extreme eastern end of the house, two stories high at that point. The only communication between the kitchen below and the dining room above was by stairs on the open porch.[23] In 1851, then, the house consisted of eight rooms disposed on

2. Johnson House, south elevation: above, as originally built in 1849-51; below, after enlargements of 1868-69. (Author)

[23] The outline of the stairs was discovered during the investigation of the structure in 1956.

three levels: four rooms on the first floor, two on the second, and two in the basement. The room to the left of the entrance was the parlor; the dining room was at the eastern end of the ell, through the hall and down the porch from the parlor. The other two rooms on the first floor and the two upstairs were bedrooms.

Of all remaining early houses in Greeneville the Lowry-Snapp is most closely related to the Johnson. In general form, size, and detail it is so similar that it was probably built at the same time; indeed the bricks may have come from the same kiln. The Lowry-Snapp House (which proved an instructive example in planning the Johnson restoration) is also composed of a front block two stories high and a one-story ell. The front block is divided by a central hall flanked by two rooms, at both levels. The facade contains three windows in the second story, a central portal and two windows below. With five bays on the front, the Rumbough-Hacker House is a slightly amplified version of the same type. Indeed all three are simply variations of an East Tennessean theme, a composition characterized by the high, narrow proportions of the front block, the unbroken roof parallel to the street, the (original) absence of a monumental portico at front, the rear ell with porch, and the general compactness of plan and scale. Although by 1850 most of the nation had submitted to the archæological correctness of the fashionable Greek Revival, the domestic architecture of isolated East Tennessee, in both form and detail, tended to be conservative and old-fashioned, suggesting a perpetuation of popular house-types of the Revolutionary period in the uplands of western Virginia.[24]

The exterior details of the Johnson House were characteristic of the time and place, and very similar to those of the Lowry-Snapp House. The front wall was laid in Flemish bond brickwork, while the sides and back were common bond. The bricks, bulky in proportion[25] and dark ferrous red in color, were left in their natural state, although the mortar joints were pencilled with white painted stripes. A moulded

[24] The best general account of our early nineteenth-century architecture is Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York, 1944). There is much pictorial matter pertaining to the domestic architecture of early Tennessee in the compilation by the Garden Study Club of Nashville, *History of Homes and Gardens of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1936) and Gifford A. Cochran, *Grandeur in Tennessee* (New York, 1946); a brief written account is included in the WPA *American Guide Series* volume *Tennessee* (New York, 1939). However, an architectural history as such, derived from basic sources, for the state or its principal regions, is yet wanting. There is much material for such a study in the Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.

[25] Averaging 3 x 4 x 8½ inches each.

brick cornice, with dentils, crowned the east and west walls of the two-story block. The roof was covered with smoothly dressed oak shingles.[26] Above the windows were reeded wooden lintels,[27] shown in the photograph of 1875, and a similar one over the door still exists beneath the handsome wooden portal later added by Andrew Johnson. The windows were glazed with small panes (8 x 10 inches) in double-hung sash. In the first-story windows there were usually twelve lights (panes) in each sash; while in the smaller windows of the second story there were twelve in the upper and only eight in the lower sash—a common arrangement in the early houses of Greeneville. The exterior woodwork was originally painted a creamy yellow color.[28] Despite popular fancy to the contrary, white was sparingly used on early American houses because of the high price of white lead.

The interior details were more difficult to recapture because of numerous renovations. Although much of the original work was ultimately pulled out, it left many intelligible traces. Four original mantels (all wooden) survived, in the two bedrooms upstairs, in the room next to the dining room, and in the kitchen, all betraying a rather old-fashioned, provincial design and corresponding to similar elements in older Greeneville houses (such as the Kerbaugh House). Other original mantels were probably re-used in subsequent interior alterations, and the sophisticated Greek details of these exhibit close similarities to the mantels in the Harmon House (dated 1851) at 305 North Main Street. Surviving door and window facings are also of two types: simple narrow facings and facings with the typical battered (sloping) profile of the Greek Revival, similar to those in the Rumbough-Hacker House. These discrepancies lend credence to the tradition that Johnson completed the house; for the Greek Revival came late and faintly to Greeneville, yet the ambitious congressman would have appreciated it from his acquaintance with elegant metropolitan architecture.

Other interior details[29] included chair-rails in the parlor, in the

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[26] Averaging 5 x 18 inches, with 6 inches to the weather. A number of original shingles were found in place under the gables erected in 1885.

[27] They were found in good condition, underneath the wooden pediments of 1885.

[28] Determined by stripping original woodwork down to the first layer of paint.

[29] Fragments of many interior details were found behind later closets and other additions. Others were indicated by clear marks in the plaster, which could be seen after removal of the wallpaper. This also revealed the original finish of the walls, which were covered with the scribblings of soldiers who occupied the house during the Civil War. Clearly, the first wallpaper was hung after the war.

dining room and adjoining room (which may thus have been intended for a sitting room rather than bedroom). These were simply continuations, completely around the room, of the under-sill facing of the windows. Baseboards (6 inches high) were plain with a heavy beaded moulding. All the interior walls and the ceilings downstairs were smoothly plastered; the upstairs ceilings were constructed of wide tongue-and-groove boards. Ceilings and walls were painted a near-white, except in the dining room and the room next to it, where the walls were painted dark brown-green, one of those disturbingly unattractive colors which our ancestors often preferred for interiors.

II

During the Civil War and Reconstruction the Johnson House suffered neglect and mutilation. For more than six years neither Johnson nor any of his family was in Greeneville. A War Democrat and anti-secessionist Southerner, Johnson remained in the Senate, until 1862, when Lincoln appointed him military governor of Tennessee. He went directly from Washington to Nashville, which had been evacuated by the Confederates earlier in the year. There he was ultimately joined by all of his family: his invalid wife, Eliza; his daughter Martha, wife of Judge David T. Patterson, and their two children, Belle and Andrew Johnson Patterson; his daughter Mary and her husband, Colonel Daniel Stover, with their three children; and his three (unmarried) sons, Dr. Charles Johnson (surgeon, U.S.A.), Colonel Robert Johnson, and the little boy Andrew Johnson, Jr., who was usually called Frank. With the exception of Colonel Stover and Major Charles Johnson, both of whom died in Nashville, all of these went to Washington three years later to live in the White House, where Mrs. Patterson found herself in the extraordinary role of Senator's wife, President's daughter, and official hostess of the Executive Mansion. None of the family came home before 1868.

Meanwhile in Greeneville Johnson's house was occupied by troops, first Confederate, later Federal. The Confederates swarmed over East Tennessee in August, 1861. Mrs. Patterson stored most of Johnson's furniture and personal goods with various friends in Greeneville, abandoned the house, and managed to get her family through the lines to the safety of Union territory. From Greensburg, Indiana, on January

31, 1862, she wrote to her father, "your house is now a rebel hospital and the rebels are cutting up Greeneville."[30] On that same day Johnson had declared before the United States Senate, "My wife and children have been turned into the street, and my house has been converted into a barrack, and for what? Because I stand for the Constitution. . . ."[31] When the war was over and Johnson had unexpectedly become president his Greeneville home was first described in the northern press: "The fences of the lot and the windows of the house show evident signs of dilapidation, the consequence of rebellion and rebel rule. A number of panes of glass are broken out and their places supplied with paper . . . . This is the residence of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States."[32]

The most striking evidence of the military occupation of his house, however, was the unique commentary which the soldiers scrawled on the invitingly smooth white walls.[33] With some sense of history they pencilled their dates of occupancy, as early as March 22, 1862, and as late as January 26, 1868, attesting to the lengthy abuse of the premises by both forces. Also showing that both armies had been there, they left other records: in one place a great patriotic flourish "Confederate States of America" and in another the individual name "Willie Lavistowski, Cincinnati, Ohio," a most unlikely Confederate. There were also a few regimental notations, such as the 6th Florida, Company H, and Company R (?), 9th Michigan Cavalry. Most of the soldiers knew whose house they were in and Johnny Reb especially delighted in recording the fact often, sometimes with highly original spelling. While Johnson was military governor one uninvited guest scribbled near his front door: "Andy you had better skedaddle from Nashvill for Lovejoy is after you and if he git you you are a gonner sartan." However, most of the inscriptions, while less menacing, were boldly inspired statements of Confederate fact: "Old Andy Johnson the Tory; Andrew Johnson a Traiter of the South (rubric); Shame on Old Andy the Vile Traitor of his Country"; and with undisguised feeling, "The man that

[30] Johnson MSS., Library of Congress, Vol. 15, courtesy of Ben Davis.
[31] Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1930), 94.
[32] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* (New York, 1855-1922), Sept. 23, 1865, p. 12.
[33] These inscriptions were recorded when the wallpaper was removed in 1956. They were found in the entrance hall, the bedroom on the right, the upstairs hall, and the two upstairs bedrooms. There were also a few in the dining room and adjoining room, but these were illegible because of the dark color of the walls. There were none in the parlor, which apparently was re-plastered in 1868-69.

may go to hell Andrew Johnson the Old Traitor." At least one thought no better of the locale: "This is Greeneville, Tennessee the Yankee hole of all holds"; while those of a more delicate turn of mind resorted to snatches of sentimental poetry and occasional Biblical quotations, such as the appropriate "Remember thy Creator in the Days of thy Youth." And of course there were frequent, though never pornographic, allusions to sweethearts, simply expressed as "Wunder if she loves me," or the plaintive "Let me Kiss her for her Mother Oh how swete." And finally the inevitable reprimand: "Fools Names and Monkey faces are often seen in Public Places."

Andrew Johnson probably never saw these inscriptions, may never have known they existed, for the house was repaired and refurbished, including the eminently sensible addition of wallpaper, before he returned to Greeneville; yet, ironically, the insults were there, though obscured, even in his own bedroom. The house had finally been evacuated at some time in 1868 and was then prepared for the retiring President's homecoming by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Stover, who had apparently returned for that purpose. It was described at this time by a journalist from Cincinnati who sent in a series of articles from Greeneville, where he was awaiting Johnson's return from Washington. Under the dateline "Greeneville, March 16, 1869," he wrote:

> Upon one of the principal streets of the place, there is a modest, small-sized, two story brick, the present residence of his ex-Excellency, or will be his residence as soon as he arrives. A new brick pavement has been laid in front, the window blinds have been freshly painted, and there is an air of genteel respectability about the premises. Nothing gaudy, however. As I passed by the house, a plainly dressed but bright little girl came out, and tripped across the street. I was informed that she was the President's grandchild, a daughter of Mrs. Stover.[34]

Johnson returned home on March 20, 1869, midst the acclamation of his fellow citizens. Although he continued an active interest in politics, it is easy to imagine the ex-President in retirement at Greeneville, taking a renewed interest in his house, puttering about the premises and personally supervising numerous little projects. (A distinguished visitor once found him digging in his garden.) The nature of these improvements is indicated by a number of accounts which have sur-

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[34] Clipping from the *Cincinnati Commercial* in Johnson scrapbooks, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.

vived in his private papers.[35] Already before the war he had a curb[36] constructed in front of his property; on August 6, 1860, he paid $44.45 to H. A. Farnsworth "in full account of Kirbing furnished by R. W. Hopper and placed in front of his house in Greeneville." To this was now added a brick sidewalk in herringbone pattern. New fences and gates were constructed along the sidewalk, and new gutters were installed on the house. On December 14, 1870 (or 71) Johnson paid $22.00 to T. B. Salts & Co. on account rendered:

to 69 foot Gutering	at	18¢	12.42
" 6 foot Down Pipe	"	18¢	1.08
" changing and Repaireing 170 foot old spouting	"	5¢	8.50
			$22.00

In the summer of 1869 he had one J. C. Hankins frequently engaged in numerous odd jobs about the house, especially bringing materials: hauling three loads of shingles, $1.50; one load of sand, $1.50; hauling 3,000 bricks, $4.00; hauling sand for a day and a half, $6.00; and again in August, 1870, hauling three loads of sand, $2.00.

At the same time Johnson enlarged his lot. On March 4, 1870, he received from his son-in-law David T. Patterson, for $280.00, a lot "lying immediately in the rear of the lot of the said Andrew Johnson and of the same width of said Johnson's lot, and extending back from the Southern [more correctly the eastern] boundary of said Johnson's lot to Water Street."[37] Now the property measured 114 feet wide at Main Street by nearly 440 feet in depth, extending completely through to Water (now College) Street. It included a portion of Richland Creek, in its original channel, beyond which the view was largely unobstructed; for there were still no buildings on Water Street below the original limits of the town.[38] With only a spring-house near the creek, this was really a large meadow-like tract which one saw from the garden behind Johnson's house.

The most important work of this period was the enlargement of the house itself by the addition of a second story to the ell (fig. 2, pl. VI). This was erected in 1868-69, as clearly evidenced by structural

[35] The following were kindly made available by Mrs. Bartlett.

[36] Early curbing in Greeneville consists of large stone slabs sunk edgewise into the ground, with approximately 9 inches above grade.

[37] Deed Bk. 37, p. 141.

[38] Recollections of Horace Baker, 1943, in records of Andrew Johnson National Monument, Greeneville. According to Mr. Baker, Johnson's barn and stable were located at the corner of Summer and College streets, on the site of the present fire station.

examination[39] and corroborated by the family tradition that Colonel Robert Johnson died (April 22, 1869) "in the room over the dining room." The second story was built to provide two more bedrooms, corresponding to the rooms below; and they were planned with outside entrances from a gallery. The old porch was now rebuilt and raised in height to two stories, really three at the eastern tip of the house, with a continuation of the outside stairs (pl. VIII). This "double verandah," as it was sometimes called, was supported by tall, thin poplar posts, perhaps the "9 Collems 21 ft long 5x7," for which Johnson was billed $10.92 in 1870,[40] although only eight were actually erected. The gallery was built across the three sides of the house on the north and east, providing a distinctive and striking feature with character undoubtedly once common in East Tennessee, although now probably best seen along the backs of the main street in Jonesboro. In this instance the gallery was possibly roofed with tin (which Johnson purchased frequently in these years); its upstairs ceiling was plastered and the brick walls within the gallery were painted light grey.[41] To the front of the house Johnson added a monumental classical portal of wood (pls. I, II); otherwise the exterior details of the house remained as they were in the original.

The interior of the house was improved and brought up to date; it was, after all, eighteen years since the Johnsons had first lived there, and in that time (1851-69) standards of American taste had been considerably modified. The most conspicuous change was the addition of wallpaper, which was now hung in all rooms of the first and second stories, covering the blemished walls. The patterns consisted of delicate stripes or small medallions in light colors.[42] The first closets were also installed at this time. Two large closets flanking the fireplace in

[39] The roof framing can be easily distinguished from that of the original roof of 1849-51 and the gables of 1885; and there is no knowledge at all of a remodelling before 1868 or between 1869 and 1885. Also the cupboards in the second-story ell were installed directly against the naked brick wall, before plastering, and thus at the same time the second story was constructed. These cupboards are identical in design, materials, and workmanship to cupboards in the older portions of the house, which were clearly installed after the military inscriptions but before the first wallpaper, hence in 1868 or 1869. Therefore, all this work was apparently accomplished at the same time, and there is virtually no doubt as to the date of the second-story ell or the important fact that it was added by Andrew Johnson.

[40] Johnson accounts, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.

[41] Traces of the plaster and paint were found in 1956.

[42] Fragments of the first layers of wallpaper were found behind some woodwork of the 1885 remodelling. Other samples were found when some walls were stripped for re-papering about 1954.

Robert Johnson's bedroom, in the second-story ell, were a part of the construction of 1868-69; diagonal corner cupboards were added in the older bedrooms, and a china cabinet was added in the dining room. In details, however, this work was conservative and old-fashioned, the Greek fret designs corresponding to the popular ante-bellum style and the six-panel closet-doors recalling an even earlier period. The details of the mantels in the two new rooms were similarly inspired of the Greek Revival, which coming late to Greeneville likewise stayed late.

Although the appearance of this cabinet-work was old-fashioned, the idea of such conveniences was modern; and a more anomalous innovation appeared in the new bedrooms, where the fireplaces were bricked up when they were built, never intended for an open fire but originally equipped for stoves (probably wood-burning), which stood on the hearths in front of the mantels. However, open fireplaces were still used in the older rooms, and during the years 1869-70 Hankins was regularly bringing firewood to Johnson's house.[43] It is also quite likely that the kitchen fireplace was now blocked up and equipped with the latest style cast-iron range, for it is known that Mrs. Patterson bought one in 1869; and perhaps the luxury of an icehouse was added to the premises, although the spring was still used for water supply. The house was now regularly lighted by oil lamps, as indicated by purchases of 1869 and numerous receipts of coal oil in 1870. The old wooden floors, scarred by the boots of soldiers, were apparently covered with straw matting (excepting the carpeted parlor), upon which were placed smaller rugs. In February, 1869, Johnson bought twenty dollars' worth of mats and matting. And lastly, although the bathtub and water closet had for some time been included in fashionable metropolitan houses, such conveniences had not yet reached Greeneville. Accordingly, among other purchases of 1868, we find Johnson acquiring one "Chamber Set" ($4.50), two "Hip Baths" ($9.00), and a tin bowl and pitcher ($4.50).

Although Johnson's furniture had been saved by friends in Greeneville during the military occupation of his house, the retiring President acquired many new articles in Washington preparatory to his return home. Many accounts of these purchases have survived[44] to

[43] This and the following are in Johnson accounts, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.
[44] *Ibid.*

contribute many details of the contents of the house during the last years of Johnson's life. For example, in January and February, 1869, Johnson bought of John Q. Willson,[45] "Extensive Dealer" in household goods of all kinds, furniture for five bedrooms and chairs for the dining room:

4 Spr[ing] Chairs 1 Br Arm Rocker	
1 Qt Table 1 M[arble] T[op] Washstand	
1 Bedstead 1 Towel Rack	58.00
40 lbs Hair Mattress 36.00 1 Set Springs 10.00	46.00
12 Dining Room Chairs 1 Rev[olving?] Chair	42.00
1 Iron Stand 3.50 Mats & Matting 5.00	8.50
105 lbs Hair Matresses 94.50 1 Light Set 45.00	139.50
1 Oak Set 62.00 1 Single Bedstead 8.00	70.00
1 Dou[ble] Bedstead 12.00 2 Sets Springs 12.00	24.00
2 " Sets Springs 20.00 1 Walnut Table 7.00	27.00
1 Light Bureau Washstand 7.00	7.00
Matts and Matting 15.00	15.00
	$437.00

On April 6, 1869, Hon. Andrew Johnson was billed by W. G. Metzerott & Co.,[46] "Importers and Dealers in all kinds of Musical Instruments, Foreign and Domestic Music," for "One 7 octave Steinway & Sons Piano No. 16651 Stool and Cover" ($575.00), which were shipped by railroad to Mrs. Patterson at Henderson Station, Greene County, Tennessee, and later brought to the ex-President's house. The lighting fixtures were itemized in a bill, dated February 12, 1869, to Mr. President Johnson from Charles Ullrich, Jr.,[47] "Dealer in China, Glass and Crockery Ware, Housekeeping Goods, Lamps &c:"

1 Hall Lamp	7.00
1 Hand do [for ditto]	62
1 Parlor do	4.00
1 Fancy Glass do	2.50
1 Glass do	75
1 " do	1.00
1 Shade	75
½ Doz Sun Chimneys (Extra) 1.00	50
1 Chimney for Hall Lamp (Extra)	15
1 Doz Wicks	20
1 pt Bottle Yeoman's Magnetic Remover	1.00
	$18.47

[45] Located at the "southeast corner of Ninth and D Streets," Washington, D. C., as printed on the statement.

[46] "318 Pennsylvania Avenue, between Ninth and Tenth Streets."

[47] "493 Ninth Street, Between D and E Streets."

There was a large order of tableware, dated August 25, 1868, from J. W. Boteler & Bro.,[48] "Importers and Dealers in China, Glass, Crockery Ware, and House-Furnishing Goods:"

½ Doz Tea Knives 4.00, ½ Doz Dinner Knives 4.25	8.25
½ " " Spoons 1.75, ½ " Table Spoons 3.50	5.25
½ " Forks 3.50, Knife & Fork 2.00, Caster 8.50	14.00
1 " Din Plates 1.75, I Doz Breakfast Plates 1.50	3.25
½ " Soup " 87, 2 Cov'd Dishes 2.50	3.37
4 Deep Dishes 2.50, 2 Deep " 62, 1 Deep Dish 35	3.47
4 Dishes 2/30, 90, 125, 2 Butter " 1.50, 1 Doz Cups & Saucers 2.50	7.15
2 Pitchers 75, 1.25, 1 Cream Jug 25, 1 Sugar 50, 2 Bowls 40	3.15
2 Pickle Dishes 75, 1 Chamber Set 4.50	5.25
2 Hip Baths 9.00, ½ Doz Goblets 1.25, ½ Doz Tumblers 75	11.00
2 Salts 50, 1 Brs Spittoon 50, 1 Waiter 87	1.87
1 Tin Set 4.50, 1 Tea Tray 1.50	6.00
	$72.00

III

In the six years (1869-75) of his retirement at Greeneville Johnson was surrounded again by his family. Living with him in the Homestead were only his wife Eliza, now failing rapidly in health, and his young son Andrew Junior (Frank). The two older sons, Robert and Charles, were now dead. His faithful daughter Martha Patterson lived near Home Depot (Afton) on a farm presented by her father in appreciation of her services to him in the White House. His daughter Mary Stover lived in Carter County on a farm overlooking the Watauga. It was there Johnson went for a few days' rest after his triumphal return to the United States Senate, and on that visit he was stricken with apoplexy and died (July 31, 1875).

At the time of his death Andrew Johnson was the wealthiest man in Greeneville. He owned much real estate in the town and many securities, especially stock in the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad. And although it was said that he lost $70,000 in the failure of Jay Cooke and Company in the crash of 1873, still his net worth was assessed by the Tennessee Supreme Court at the striking figure of $152,651.55.[49] Despite his usual attention to detail, Johnson died intes-

[48] "320 Metzerott Hall, Penna. Avenue, between 9th and 10th Streets."

[49] H. H. Ingersoll to Thomas Maloney, Mar. 7, 1888, in accounts of Johnson Estate, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.

tate, and his widow was appointed administratrix;[50] however, no attempt was made to settle his affairs, for Mrs. Johnson was dying. She followed her husband to the hilltop graveyard in January, 1876, and in the following month Andrew Johnson, Jr., aged twenty-four, was appointed administrator of the ex-President's estate.[51] As sole surviving son, he received his father's house and contents, at a valuation of only $900.00. On February 21, 1876, D. T. Patterson and wife Martha J. Patterson and Mary Stover deeded to him their "undivided title and interest in . . . the Homestead of the late Andrew Johnson." This transfer included the lot purchased from Brannan in 1851 and enlarged to Water Street in 1870, and in addition Johnson's pre-war office and another small office, both located on Main Street just above the Homestead.[52]

Meanwhile Andrew Junior had married Bessie Rumbough, late in 1875, shortly after his father's death. Then in March, 1879, he died—without issue, without a will, and without having settled his father's estate. This produced some confusion and doubtless contributed to the survivors' propensity to lawsuits, which eroded some of the fortune left by Johnson. As administrators the court appointed Andrew Johnson Patterson, grandson of the late President, and Thomas Maloney,[53] who had served as a secretary to Johnson in the White House. Of course they had to settle with the younger Johnson's widow; and on August 29, 1881, was held a sale, "In pursuance of a decree pronounced by the Chancery Court, at Greeneville, Tenn., on the 18th day of May, 1881, in the cause of Bessie M. Johnson, Administratrix, vs. Andrew J. Patterson, ad'mr, et al . . . ," including for disposition ". . . a large Miscellaneous Library, also all the Household and Kitchen Furniture, all the property of the late Ex-President Andrew Johnson."[54] The sale was held and apparently most, but probably not all, of the household effects and library were bought in by Johnson's daughters, according to an entry in the accounts of the estate under date Septem-

[50] Clerk's Minute Bk. 27, p. 151.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[52] Deed Bk. 41, p. 100. Johnson bought a small office (site of present Brumley property) in 1852 and an adjoining one, to its south, in 1856. In the latter Andrew Johnson, Jr., published the *Greeneville Intelligencer*. Andrew Johnson's post-war office and library were located on Summer Street (site of the present Post Office) in the ell of the Johnson Block, later the Tennessee House.

[53] Clerk's Minute Bk. 28, p. 503.

[54] Original handbill in accounts of Johnson Estate, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.

ber 5, 1881, when the sum of $500.00 was paid by "Mmes. Stover and Patterson for library and furnishings."[55]

After a lengthy legal battle, descent of the house was determined in favor of the two daughters, although the settlement was now complicated by the death of Mrs. Stover (1883). However, for $1,500.00 the Stover heirs deeded their "one-half undivided interest" in the "home stead of the late ex-President Andrew Johnson" to Mrs. Martha J. Patterson. The transaction included the homestead lot with additions and offices which had passed to Andrew Johnson, Jr.[56]

Mrs. Patterson had now achieved her cherished ambition to be guardian of her father's books, papers, and personal mementoes, which, according to her friend Laura Holloway, "she desired above all other possessions."[57] She now owned the Homestead and at once set about remodelling it to provide a suitably elegant background for the presidential relics. Old-fashioned chair-rails and other woodwork were ripped out; some old mantels were replaced by more fashionable ones in marbelized cast iron. The books and papers in Johnson's office, even his old tailor's bench, were brought to the house and set up in a museum-like "library" in the second story of the ell. The downstairs furniture remained, of course. As observed by Mrs. Holloway, "The old homestead at Greeneville is occupied by Judge and Mrs. Patterson, and its belongings are much as they were during the lifetime of the ex-President."[58]

The exterior of the house, however, was considerably modified. Mrs. Patterson received title to the property on December 6, 1884; the remodelling was completed in late 1885[59] and noted in Mrs. Holloway's book which was published in the following year: "The house and grounds have been thoroughly renovated and in some respects improved."[60] This improvement consisted in bringing the

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Deed Bk. 48, p. 479.

[57] Laura C. Holloway, MSS. notes, possession of Mrs. Bartlett.

[58] *Idem., Ladies of the White House,* 2 vols. (New York, 1886), II, 338. Most of the furnishings were purchased by the federal government for the restoration. However, since Johnson's books and papers were not actually *in* the Homestead during his lifetime, they were not included in the purchase. Accordingly these valuable historical items remained the private property of Mrs. Bartlett, and in July, 1956, they were moved out of the Homestead and temporarily stored in a warehouse. The books are now on permanent display in the Home Federal Savings Bank of Greeneville.

[59] As the work was being completed carpenters stuffed various newspapers, all bearing dates in November, 1885, behind facings of the elongated windows. The newspapers were discovered in 1956.

[60] Holloway, *Ladies of the White House,* II, 391.

house up to date according to current standards of High Victorian taste (pl. IV). Gables were added on the front and south side; the old brick cornice was broken and covered by a deep wooden cornice, with elaborate brackets, which was carried completely around the house. Johnson's double veranda was raised to corresponding height and similarly dressed with tin ornaments, and a porch of comparable inspiration was erected on the south side, where a large bay-window was soon added. Some windows were elongated to the new proportion, and wooden pediments were tacked above those on the front. The old oaken shingles were covered with tin. The brickwork was painted dark red and the woodwork dark green (later white). The character of the house and grounds during Mrs. Patterson's occupancy was reported in 1897 in the *Indianapolis Journal:*

> The home of the town's greatest citizen . . . is still one of the nicest houses in town, although not as pretentious as many others. It is a substantial two-story brick house, standing on the northeast side of a beautiful lot, large enough to contain an ordinary Statehouse. The grounds are not very pretentious, nor are they now well kept. Through them flows a small drain which in dry weather becomes merely a ditch, and in wet weather becomes a fair-sized stream. The banks of this stream are lined with willows of different varieties, which, in their natural condition, give the place a weird aspect. The house is partially covered with vines, and, all in all, has a dull and dismal appearance, but it was once the scene of many fashionable gatherings of the elite of the State.[61]

In the last years of her life Mrs. Patterson, who had been widowed in 1891, was joined at the Homestead by her son, Andrew Johnson Patterson, and his wife, returning from consular service in British Guiana. This occasioned further improvements, and shortly before Mrs. Patterson's death, in 1901, a new porch and pantry were constructed on the south side of the house (pl. V). In the following years the kitchen was moved upstairs from the basement, where it had always been; the first bathroom was installed, and others followed. The old porch was thus gradually enclosed (pl. VII). Among frequent repairs, new floors were laid over old, new doors were cut through; central heating, electrical wiring, plumbing, and the rest bored into the old fabric. In short, the structure was subjected to those numerous alterations necessary to keep a decaying old house habitable by modern standards.

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[61] *Indianapolis Journal,* Jan. 24, 1897, p. 16.

For more than fifty years the house had been maintained with something of the character of a public shrine. This was evident as early as 1897, when the reporter from Indianapolis wrote, "This large house is still occupied by Mrs. Patterson, who is ever ready to show strangers through the home of a former president."[62] And the purpose of Mrs. Patterson was made perfectly clear in her will, which provided:

> . . . that the Homestead of my father, now my home, together with its appurtenant garden, lots, etc., shall become the home and property of my son, Andrew J. Patterson, and his wife, Mattie B. Patterson, for and during their natural lives, and that . . . . . all the personal property—that constituting household belongings, such as furniture, relics, souvenirs, etc., to include all family portraits, likenesses, landscapes, art products, etc. that pertained to the home, and those that pertained to the office also, of my deceased father—shall pass with the Homestead, first to my son Andrew and his wife, during their lives, as incident to their occupancy of the Homestead, . . . to have use and enjoyment of such property, portraits, etc., in trust for those who will succeed.[63]

Further to insure the perpetuation of the house and its contents together as an historic ensemble, Mrs. Patterson willed "that this property . . . the Homestead of my father . . . together with all the appurtenances and personal property described as passing therewith, shall in no event be liable for the debt or debts of anyone interested in such occupancy."[64]

The trust was faithfully kept. Singular devotion to purpose preserved the historic ensemble for a grateful nation, whose property it now is, and those who succeed will see the house and contents as they existed during the lifetime of Andrew Johnson.

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[62] *Ibid.*
[63] Transcript in records of Andiew Johnson National Monument, Greeneville.
[64] *Ibid.*

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and Edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9-28)

XXI—January-February, 1793.

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JANUARY 8, 1793[1]

No. 234.

Col. Pedro Bruin,[2] has sent to me here Cobb Potter[3] a resident who went to this district who with my Passport had gone some time ago to the Chickasaw Nation whence he has just arrived and has informed of the following—

That he left said Nation the 10th of last Dec. at which time the Creek Indians had sent there a talk announcing that they were determined to go and kill all the Whites there were in that area just as they have also resolved to destroy the ammunition that Mountain Leader or Piamingo[4] has stored. That eighteen Creeks are posted on the road of the Choctaws for the purpose of impeding any white man from passing that way. That likewise they have word that 300 Creeks were camped at the Home of Mr. Favre[5] with the intention of killing the Tombigbee Residents, and that the said Creek Indians had lately done much damage in Cumberland and that the people there were preparing to make war on the forementioned Creeks. That Hardy Perry[6] had abandoned his Home and that he was hidden in the Woods fearful of being killed. That Piamingo with another important Chief persuaded by Mr. Benjamin Fooy[7] Interpreter of Juan de Lavillebeuvre[8] were going to come here on horse, that for said purpose Hardy Perry was leading them, but that with the news that the Creeks were going

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 41. Gayoso was the Spanish governor of the district of Natchez. Carondelet was governor at New Orleans.

[2] Peter Bryan Bruin, like his father Bryan Bruin, was an influential planter of the Natchez district. The two had migrated from Virginia in 1788. Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794,* 3 parts. Vols. II, III, and IV, *Annual Report,* American Historical Association (Washington, 1949), Part II, 257, 311.

[3] Cobb Potter has not been identified. There was a Caleb Potter in the Natchez district. *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 871.

[4] Piomingo was the Chickasaw war chief, called Mountain Leader by the Americans.

[5] Simon Favre, a trader in the Choctaw nation.

[6] Another trader in the Choctaw nation. See below, for the list of supplies that Hardy Perry furnished to Bennett Ballew.

[7] See *Publications,* No. 28 (1956), 128n.

[8] Lt. Col. Juan de la Villebeuvre, formerly Spanish agent to the Choctaws, had been serving as commissary to the Choctaws and the Chickasaws since early in 1792.

to kill the Whites of their Country, and to destroy their Store of Ammunition, they resolved to suspend their journey to this Province as [also?] another trip which he had previously projected to the mouth of Wolf River where he expected Gen. Robertson[9] to send him from Cumberland Corn that the said Piamingo had sent to beg it of him in a Letter he wrote him, and had seen the aforementioned Potter who brings me this word; and he adds that Piamingo had said that although his people lacked supplies he had determined not to go for them preferring to remain in his Country in order to defend it for which purpose he was going to begin the construction of a Fort.

All of which I communicate to Your Excellency for your information. . . .

Natchez January 8, 1793

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos
(rubric)

Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, JANUARY 16, 1793[10]

I have just received your letter of December 18, 1792 by the Cherokee Chief Bloodyfellow[11] and two other companions who are staying at my house until I could send them on, which will be some four or five days because of bad weather. I am embarrassed very much by the absence of Favre, whom I sent to look for horses on the Tombigbee River, and whom I was obliged by circumstances to send, and I am also embarrassed by the absence of Fooy, whom I commissioned to go to the Chickasaws to engage Piomingo and Ogoulayacabe[12] to go and see you, and Fooy himself has departed for Natchez with the latter, but I am going to employ for the trip a man named Price,[13] a perfectly honest man who has lived in the Colony for thirty years. He can write English and French and I am sending him to the Chickasaws with the Cherokees since Mr. Gayoso ordered me to send Fooy with them to get an exact account of what is going on. I am also sending Favre so as not to be tricked by anybody, and furthermore, when you write to Piomingo, Price and Favre will tell him the contents of your letter without the necessity of employing a stranger to do this. The first is known to Piomingo since he lived in the Chickasaws, and he will have confidence in him, so that Favre, whom I have charged to sound him out concerning the store which you wish to permit Turnbull[14] to establish on the Margot River,[15] and do so without mentioning the question of a fort for fear

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[9] Gen. James Robertson of the Mero district.

[10] A.G.I., P.C., 208. Boukfauka (or Bouckfuka) was a Choctaw town on the Pearl River above the site of Jackson, Miss.

[11] Bloodyfellow was one of the Cherokee chiefs to whom Gov. William Blount, of the Southwest Territory, had given a medal from President Washington the year before. More recently he had led a delegation of Cherokees to New Orleans and was now on the way home via the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. *Publications,* No. 28, pp. 139-40; Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 96-98.

[12] This leading Chickasaw chief was known in English as Wolf's Friend. His Indian name appears in the records in many forms.

[13] Thomas Price.

[14] John Turnbull, formerly an Indian merchant in Mobile, and still significant as a rival of William Panton's company for the Choctaw and Chickasaw trade. It was Panton, however, who finally built the trading post at Chickasaw Bluffs (in 1795).

[15] Or Wolf River.

of Le Fourcher,[16] and if he consents to this we will talk to him about the fort after the arrival there of Turnbull in whom they have blind confidence. He can tell them that he wants the fort for his own safety and ask them to demand it of you. That will prevent their becoming suspicious, for the Chickasaws are a different people from the Choctaws; much more cunning. I shall write him also and will indicate at the same time that you have ordered me to tell him that you will furnish him with corn if necessary, and will deliver it at the Chickasaw Bluffs, and supply horses to go and see you, as indicated to me by Mr. Gayoso. I shall also write a letter to the King of the Chickasaws[17] which I will instruct Price and Favre to read to him secretly, which treats of a store at the Margot River, and if he takes it well I shall instruct them to go ahead and talk to him about the fort; in fine, I will do everything possible to obtain this, and I shall neglect nothing that might be agreeable or advantageous to His Majesty's service.

I have known for some time that the party of Taskihetica[18] was too weak, and that in consequence it is necessary to have Piomingo and Ogoulayacabe. I am working to that end, but the Creeks have ruined everything. There is hope now that Ogoulayacabe has been to the City [New Orleans]. I shall be obliged if you will let me know what you have gained over him, so that I can act accordingly in dealing with Piomingo. I provided the former well with supplies for his return journey because they all complain of not having enough, especially the Chickasaws.

If you furnish corn to the nation, as you indicate to me, it will be the biggest favor you can do them in the scarcity that troubles them this year, and will gain us a lot of merit. I saw a similar case in the time of the French. They have talked about it many times and the old Chiefs always tell it to their warriors. You ask me what place would be best to make the distribution to the Choctaws; in order that it be done at the least cost to the king I would suggest the district of Tombigbee where it could be carried by water and where a warehouse could be built to store the corn. This place would be only fifteen or twenty miles from the Nation and we could use it later on for the fort that Lanzos[19] says you plan to build there. I flatter myself that it would be very useful. Red Shoes[20] of Tuskeegee, having heard in the Choctaws that I had said that I would establish this warehouse, has approved of it heartily saying that this was the place where the Nation formerly treated with the Choctaws and Chickasaws about peace and other matters in which the whites were the mediators. Finally, if you do not see it this way, then New Tombigbee[21] would be more convenient than Natchez or Mobile because there would have to be horses in them to send the goods to the Nation, which would cost much more than to haul the corn on wagons. But Old Tombigbee to my way of thinking would be less expensive and much nearer to the Nation, and it would be cheaper to send things to Mobile than to Natchez and I could go there to make the distribution myself if you think best to use that place.

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[16] Lt. Pedro Fourcher, commandant at New Madrid (L'Ainse a la Graisse). He was extremely suspicious of Turnbull, as was Manuel de Lanzos, the commandant at Mobile. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 72-74.

[17] The King of the Chickasaws was Taskihatoka (Taski Etoka).

[18] Reference is to Taskiniahatkie, or the White Lieutenant of Oakfuskee. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 377.

[19] See note 16, above.

[20] A brother of Alexander McGillivray's mother. J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 62.

[21] Probably the site of Ft. Tombigbee, which was farther down the river of that name than the older town, Old Tombigbee.

In regard to the present, you could diminish it, but the time will be critical this spring if there is no agreement with the neighboring powers. It will be necessary to hold these people. The goods saved in this manner will cost very little; furthermore, there are many chiefs and warriors of the Little Party[22] who have not been to see you and should go down this spring. Saving on presents will cause them to murmur. But anyway, if you have enough corn, let me know and I shall speak to them.

I see with great satisfaction that you have finally decided to send some presents to give to the Savages when the situation demands it and to reward those whom I employ. Send these things through Mobile, I beg you, and please be so kind as to order that they be delivered to me as soon as possible, or advise me and I will send some of the Indians for them with horses and pay them to go, for the king's horses are not yet recovered; that is, those that are not dead.

I beg that the first articles that you order sent be Limbourg, blue silk shirts embroidered in vermillion, silk handkerchiefs, powder and balls, some rifles, and some white summer blankets if there are any. The presents that the commissary makes in the Nation are very effective if he gives them only to persons who serve him well and whom he knows are useful and trustworthy, but the presents must be on hand in order to give them at the right time. Be assured that I shall make good use of them.

I hope you remember that in my preceding letter I requested that my salary be paid in Mobile because I owe there some 300 pesos for provisions and for a horse I had to purchase. It is nearer to bring what I need from there, and there are more opportunities to do so than from Natchez. I expect Ballew[23] from one moment to the next, and hope he will arrive before the departure of the Cherokees.

May God keep you in his Care. Boukfouka, January 16, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, JANUARY 16, 1793[24]

I have just received your letter of December 15, 1792 sent through Mobile and also the two bracelets for Tapina akio[25] who will be well satisfied with them, but just now he is out hunting. There has been handed to me a feather for Colbert[26] but no gunlocks, and Lanzos has not mentioned it. He only told me that he has two barrels of Taffy to give to Tapina akio, but he is doubtless mistaken for they were for Colbert. He will think you do not want to give them to him, but I will send him a letter by the Cherokees, accompanied by the feather and an explanation of what happened in this matter, but I beg you nevertheless to order the gunlocks to be sent by the first opportunity because he is a fine man who is easily offended and who is very touchy. He is the king's sole support in the Chickasaws. Rest assured that I will pay all the attention to the Cherokees that you have commanded, and that I will assist them in every way that depends on me.

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[22] The Choctaw nation was divided into three districts known as the Large Party, the Small Party, and the Six Villages.

[23] For Bennett Ballew's previous career see *Publications*, No. 27 (1955), 95.

[24] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[25] Tapina akio has not been identified.

[26] George Colbert, a mestizo Chickasaw chief, son of Capt. James Colbert.

I shall not fail to tell the Choctaws and Chickasaws all that you have indicated to me concerning the Nations of the North, and about the glorious peace that the nations on the Wabash are going to make, and I shall make them feel how necessary it is that they be united among themselves, but it will be only after they return from their hunt, because of the Chiefs only Franchimastabé, Yagane houman, and Taboka are in the Nation. The others are on the hunt, but by the end of this month they will begin to return.

You will have seen by my former letter that I have neglected nothing in an attempt to prevent war from breaking out among them, and although I have achieved this after much effort I shall continue my care so that it may never happen, but if they kill another white person in the Chickasaws there is every reason to fear that things will turn out as described in my letter addressed to you from Natchez, for I have not failed to inform you of everything that has taken place, even to the slightest particulars, but I am afraid that you do not receive all of my letters because you acknowledge the receipt of only a few of them. It would be convenient for me to have a private seal because mine is too common.

I have indicated to you that the alliance among the nations of the North and ours is assured, so to speak, since the Chickasaws themselves have sent beads and letters and expect an answer in the spring.

Piomingo did not go to the Americans.[27] He is at home now and he told Ballew when he was in the Chickasaws that Governor Blount has done him a favor, nevertheless he is a thief, that the governor has been putting things in his own barns that were intended for the red men. It seems that Ballew told him, and all that [Alexander] McGillivray has written has made an impression on him, and that he has turned back toward us a little, but if the party of Piomingo persists in entertaining correspondence with the Americans and leads them to declare war on the Cherokees and Creeks, it is to be feared very much that the Choctaws will be mixed up in it because of the large number of them married to Chickasaw women. In any case I will do my best to prevent this, but I beg you to take note of the matter.

When the King of the Chickasaws arrived from New Orleans he did not seem angry or discontented. He begged me to write to Mr. Gayoso to keep his powder for him, which was given him at Walnut Hills.[28] He will get it during the summer, but he and Franchimastabé ask that Mr. Gayoso send the presents to the Choctaws by a white man for fear that red men will steal them.

He did not tell me anything about Turnbull's store, but I am sure that this will have a bad effect because Ogoulayacabe and Colbert are associated with giving permission, but you will learn all about this through Ogoulayacabe who at my request is going to see you. I will write to the King of the Chickasaws that you told me to propose the Margot River project in order to sound him out, and if he is satisfied with the suggestion I will propose it to his nation, but I fear that when forts are mentioned they will not consent. It would be better to suggest a trading post and later on propose building a fort to protect it from attacks, which is the course I am taking in the belief that you will give it your approval. Speak to Turnbull about it. I am sure that he is the one you will use.[29] He knows them perfectly; furthermore, he is near the City and Ogoulayacabe is there also.

[27] On the same subject see Carondelet to Gayoso, Dec. 18, 1792, in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 103-06.

[28] Site of Vicksburg, Miss.

[29] In this Villebeuvre was mistaken. When the post was established in 1795 it was Panton who built it. At the same time Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas was built on Chickasaw Bluffs to protect it.

You can be sure that if the latter consents to it he will obtain all he wants from Piomingo since the latter is his Warrior.

I will tell the Choctaws what you commanded concerning the desire of the Americans to declare war on us, because we want to oppose their invasion of the Choctaw lands like they did the lands of the other nations; in fine, I will tell them all you have said to me on the subject, but from what Ogoulayacabe told Governor Blunt [Blount] I fear especially that the Chickasaws will mix in the matter less than the Choctaws. Concerning the Choctaws, the Six Villages and many of the Small Party are practically assured to us, but the Large Party are cowards of the first order, Franchimastabé being first, on whom the French never relied.

Although I am well informed, I have not heard up to this moment about any settlement at the Chickasaw Bluffs or on the Mississippi anywhere except at the Yazoo and Cherokee [Tennessee] Rivers, but you can be sure that if Colonel Robertson[30] is at the Mouth of the latter river there is some enterprise on foot. I must look into this matter and I shall be careful to keep you informed of what I learn.

Pitchlynn[31] is so much obliged for the pardon you gave him that he offered to go to Cumberland to spy on what is happening there and report to me, or to go in person to New Orleans and report to you. I shall promise him a reward if he conducts himself well. He is a young man of good family and well suited to this business.

Because I feel very strongly that I should not leave the nation under the present conditions (Shall I dare run the double risk again, which this time has been temporary, and from which I am fortunate to emerge with honor, and without compromising my character as commissary, or the respect and loyalty due to my sovereign's orders?) I will not abuse the consideration that you have been so kind as to give me by granting me permission to go to the City for a while, although I should have liked very much to see you. If on another occasion circumstances allow it, I hope you will grant me this pleasure.

May the Lord keep you in His Holy Care. Boukfouka, January 16, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, JANUARY 21, 1793[32]

Mr. Ballew arrived at my house on the 18th of this month accompanied by fourteen Savages and two White men who helped him bring the four vagabonds I told you about in my previous letter. Although I have not questioned them yet, from what is contained in the depositions of two of their Negroes who were brought with them, they seem to be guilty. I have sent for two other Negroes who remained there, and also for the horses. When they arrive I shall

[30] Gen. James Robertson's brother, Col. Elijah Robertson.

[31] John Pitchlynn was a Chickasaw mestizo. For his arrest see Villebeuvre to Carondelet, Sept. 12, 1792, in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 80-83. His report on the spying trip to Cumberland is in Pitchlynn to Villebeuvre, July 16, 1794, printed in *ibid.*, III, 319-20.

[32] A.G.I., P.C., 208. Two copies of this letter were dispatched to Carondelet, one through Natchez and the other through Mobile. This translation is from the one sent through Natchez. Part of the other copy is also in A.G.I., P.C., 208, the middle pages being gone.

have the Horses sold in the Nation and will send the Negroes to the City with their masters under the care of Ballew, who has conducted himself very well in this affair, for otherwise they would not have been captured. Since their arrival I have had to feed twenty-four persons every day. I have been obliged to kill two fat beeves and sometimes I am very much embarrassed by the scarcity of food and the lack of horses to send to Mobile for supplies. I have therefore sent under guard four of those belonging to the vagabonds in order to promote the king's service, without knowing whether or not you will give this your approval. I beg you to indicate to me your will in this matter by the first opportunity. I am having stocks made to keep the prisoners secure, and will order handcuffs to use when sending them on to the City.

Ballew told me that Piomingo had left for Chickasaw Bluffs to hunt and that he will bring the corn that Colonel Robertson[33] is sending him, which is 100 *minau*[34] that is being brought in a pirogue by only three men. This does not seem to be important.

The said Malcolm McGee[35] told him that a Creek mestizo said that an army was coming from South Carolina, and another from the party of General Blount, which should meet in the Cherokees and defeat them completely and go from there and attack the Creeks. This is all he was able to learn on this journey.

The Cherokees[36] have arrived in a sad moment for the nation because there are no chiefs or warriors at home, all being on the hunt, and I will tell you that Franchimastabé has very little sympathy for them, saying as the others of his nation say, that the Cherokees have stolen horses from them every time they have gone hunting in the north. I criticised his talks severely, but on this point it has done nothing but make a bad impression on him and I doubt that I find that he has gone with them, which he would not have failed to do if it were in another season, though they say they fear the Mountains and the cold there. The Nation is very quiet at present.

May God have you in His Holy Care, Boukfouka, January 21, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, FEBRUARY 4, 1793[37]

The Cherokees left for the Chickasaws a week ago with Messrs. Favre and Price as interpreters;[38] one for the Savages and the other for the English. I engaged the latter, as I had the honor to indicate to your excellency, in order to be able to take down everything that was said at the assembly and send you an exact account of all of it. I have instructed the Bloodyfellow about the measures to adopt in order to achieve a reconciliation between the King of the Chickasaws

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[33] Reference here seems to be to Gen. James Robertson. His brother Elijah actually took the corn to Chickasaw Bluffs.

[34] The French *minot* was equivalent to 39 litres in later years. Villebeuvre to Carondelet, Feb. [28?], 1793, below, puts the total amount of corn at 200 bushels.

[35] A mestizo chief of the Chickasaws. He and George Colbert visited Washington together in 1796 at the instigation of Governor Blount. R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians* (Norman, 1954), 120.

[36] Bloodyfellow's delegation.

[37] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[38] See Villebeuvre to Carondelet, Feb. 16, 1793, above.

and Piomingo.[39] He has consented to see the one or the other without distinction in order to avoid jealousy, and to take to them the talks with which he is entrusted in a general assembly; in short, I told him everything that has happened in that nation, so he could take precautions that circumstances demand, but I fear very much that Piomingo has not yet returned from Chickasaw Bluffs where he went to get the corn sent by Colonel Robertson. About 100 *minaux* have been sent in a pirogue of three oars, which amount does not seem to me to be sufficient. I wrote you about it in a former letter, after learning about it from Mr. Ballew.

The prisoners have arrived along with the negroes and horses, but it is so much out of the way for the latter that I shall not return them. It will cost as much to send them back to the Chickasaws as to keep them at a piastre per day, besides the inconvenience of being obliged to feed fifteen or twenty persons every day since they came to my house, and at first the number was nearly thirty. Mr. Ballew, who will take them to Mobile, will tell you himself what is going on here, and will hand you a bill for the expenses of this business. These people have the where withal to pay. He will also give you the provisional declarations I have taken from them and from four other persons, and Mr. Ballew and the said Pitchlin will give you theirs. It is certain that these people, fugitives to Cumberland, are heavily in debt to Panton's store where they have bought merchandise on credit, and of their bad conduct up there you will learn from the declarations.

I am sending you an express through Mobile, and I shall send another through Natchez to let you and Mr. Gayoso know that it is certain that the Chickasaws have lately killed two Creeks on the borders of Cumberland out of four who were there. I have sent a Choctaw to the Chickasaws with some white men to look for the horses and the negro belonging to the prisoners, who inform me that the Chickasaws have been carousing and dancing the war dance since they arrived among them, and that the nation is now very much afraid of the Creeks, and with cause, for some Choctaws coming back from the Hunt met two parties of Creeks, one of thirteen and the other of ten. The latter told the Choctaws that there was another party of twenty who should have already crossed the Tombigbee River. They told them also that they were going to Natchez to kill the whites, and that if they should fail to do so they would come and kill some Choctaws, but insisted that they should not be angry with them if they killed some for they too would be angry under the circumstances, but I think this is only a bluff on their part and if what I told you about the Choctaw report to me is true, they would rather kill some Chickasaws. I shall soon know the truth when Favre and Thomas Price return,[40] and I will communicate to you any news you should have, but by way of precaution I am sending the Courier to inform you of what is going on now for fear the outcome may be contrary to your intentions. I fear very much that the Nations will become embroiled in spite of my efforts to foresee what will happen. Fortunately the Choctaws are still on the Hunt, which prevents the spread of rumors, but if there are any Chickasaws killed there are plenty of Choctaws living among them, and if the lot falls on one of the latter, revenge will be taken on him and then the trouble will become general. As soon as the Chiefs return I will have them assemble and tell them

[39] While the King of the Chickasaws was pro-Spanish, Piomingo, the war chief, favored the Americans and was a personal friend of General Robertson. Many of the ensuing papers are concerned with Spanish efforts to win him.

[40] For the report on their return see below, Villebeuvre to Carondelet, February [28?], 1793.

what you charged me in your last letter about not taking satisfaction themselves but to appeal to you as their father and you will see that justice is done them.

I have thought over what you told me about the Americans having agents who are trying to sow discord among the Nations, of which there is very convincing evidence, and I fear very much that this comes from the Mountain Leader[41] at the instigation of Blount and Robertson. I beg you to give orders for the Creek nation to hold back or the fire will spread more and more if these things are true, which there is reason to believe, because the Creek interpreter so informed Mr. Lanzos, and he reported it to me; to wit, the Creeks were preparing to go and kill some Chickasaws because the latter had killed two of their men and one more is still missing. The Choctaw nation is very quiet at present, but those who came back yesterday from the City[42] do not seem content. This is connected with Taffy. I believe that under the circumstances you will have to be a little more liberal because they are so fond of this drink that they are capable of going to the Americans to get it. . . .

Boukfouka, February 4, 1793

Juan de la Villebeuvre

P.S. I have ordered Favre to do his best to get Piomingo to go to the City and to spare nothing to that end.

Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet, Governor General

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO, BOUKFOUKA, FEBRUARY 5, 1793[43]

Boukfouka, February 5, 1793

Sir and Dear Governor

Concerning your recommendation, I could have had nothing for the Cherokees but the regard which you requested, and I treated them as friends which they really deserve, for I have seen very few Savages as civilized as Bloodyfellow. They were here with me for twelve days without inconveniencing me. His conversation pleased me very much and I sincerely hope that mine was pleasing to him also. I was not bored as much as I bored him. I do not think that I should take advantage of the invitation Monsieur the Baron[44] gave me to go to the City until the month of March, nor of the one you have had the goodness to give me. If I should run this risk it would be a double risk. I should not under the present circumstances be absent from the nation where we feel that I can be useful, seeing that in spite of my presence the white men will give as much trouble as the Indians.

I have a great desire to see my family but the Zeal that I have for the king's Service will always be more important, but I hope you will help me and it is always necessary for a Commissary to have Merchandise on hand in the Nation at all times. The English and American Commissaries have spoiled the Indians by giving presents in great profusion, without which they do not respond. The most rhetorical and beautiful talks scarcely cause any attention unless adorned with red and blue Blankets. They promise much and do nothing. It is necessary for them to see for themselves, and that the Commissary is well provided. You will say perhaps that it is a habit to ask for things at my place, since this noble custom was acquired among the Choctaws; but I assure you

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[41] Piomingo.

[42] New Orleans was usually referred to as "La Ville."

[43] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[44] Carondelet.

that pure necessity constrains me, and the interests of my master, which will be quite complicated without the goods mentioned. Do your best to send them as quickly as possible for I foresee that as soon as the Hunts are over things will take a bad turn.

I have begged you to send me a Soldier who writes a beautiful hand to relieve me, for if one can be found you will render a Great Service for I have a lot of writing to do and my eyesight is failing Considerably and my writing is not very plain as you can see. If it is possible please do me this favor; I believe that an orderly cannot be denied me.

I thank you a thousand times for passing my letters on to my wife, and if you receive an answer from her please send it to me without delay.

If it is possible to send the mount that my servant Henry left at Brown's[45] on the bayou [illegible] I will be obliged, and believe me with Sentiments of friendship and greatest respect to you Sir and Dear Governor. . . .

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

McDONALD TO PANTON, FEBRUARY 6, 1793[46]

Cherokees 6th January 1793

Mr. William Panton

Dear Sir

I received your favor of the 20th Decemr. by Moses Price,[47] & carefully observe the contents — I mean to govern myself in regard to the affair alluded to, according to your advice, knowing them to come from a friend. I mean not to abuse the confidence of the Court by refusal of the Post, but accept of it, as long as I can be serviceable in it. An affair of importance is now on the Carpet, but as I have not legal & necessary Instructions, am at a loss to act with propriety — The Nation is a good deal divided & confused, & a general meeting of the Nation is strongly insisted on by Governor Blount, — They are invited to meet him the 17th April, at the mouth of Clinch; Thirty miles further in the Indian Boundary, than was agreed on, at the Treaty of Holston,[48] with the view, not only to get this favorite Tract of the Governors confirmed, (which he tried hard for, at the last Treaty without effect) but to give energy to all former Treaties, in case the validity of them should be called in question by the Court.

A Company composed of near Fifty men for the relief of Cumberland, was attacked on their way by thirty Cherokees, & defeated, — their Captain taken prisoner, but few days since was restored to his liberty by Watts.[49] As the time is long enough to admit of a hearing from your quarter, I presume you will be as explicit as you can, in forwarding the necessary Instructions &ca. if they are made out & have come to hand, — for the Indians will expect some advice from me, & I would wish to act upon sure grounds, — all I am now doing is upon

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[45] This Brown has not been identified. There was a Brown's Creek in the Choctaw nation as early as the British occupation of West Florida, 1763-1783.

[46] A.G.I., P.C., 203. For John McDonald see *Publications,* No. 27, p. 79n.

[47] Moses Price, a half-breed Cherokee, had gone on to New Orleans from Pensacola when McDonald returned to the Cherokee nation the previous November. *Ibid.,* No. 28, p. 133, 133n.

[48] Blount's treaty with the Cherokees, July 2, 1791, at the site of Knoxville.

[49] In March of 1792 John Watts had succeeded Dragging Canoe as principal chief of the Chickamauga Cherokees. Cotterill, *Southern Indians,* 92.

the reliance of you as a friend. The Bloody-fellow & Taylor[50] are not yet arrived, so that I have not heard any thing from Orleans, except what you write me, — As your own good Judgement will readily suggest the evil that will accrue, both to your own Interest, & that of the Government of Spain, from such Connections & Treaties, I need not say any thing further on the subject, at any rate, I mean to direct them from meeting him at the place & time appointed, or any where else till I hear further.

I send this under Cover to Mr. Daniel McGillivray[51] with instructions to have it sent you immediately. Should this intelligence be discovered to be of as much Consequence, as I conceive them to be, I presume the necessary Dispatches will be forwarded to me, either by Express, or some other quick & safe Conveyance—so, you will be careful who to intrust

Correspondence of this kind when interrupted, leads one inocently into snares he would fainly avoid. I would certainly communicate my Sentiments much oftener, if there could be some safe line of Conveyance established so as to afford a speedy & safe Intelligence. . . .

(Signed) Jno. McDonald.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, FEBRUARY 7, 1793[52]

On February 2, 1793 I received by Olakta Opaÿe your letter of December 30, 1792. I would have thought as you indicate that the incursions would have stopped, but you will have seen by my former letter that this is not the case, and that they have killed a boatman in the Chickasaws and stolen a Negro and a dozen Horses from a trader named Carney,[53] all of which has done very much harm, and has given a terrible blow to your plans. We have remedied this in part, but the attack the Chickasaws have just made on the Creeks will be the climax of misfortune, if by means of your Commissaries to the Creeks you do not stop the Course of this business, which I fear very much will become general among the three Nations. It would be well to make peace immediately cost what it may, for if, as you observed to me, the Americans gain the Margot River and the Chickasaw Bluffs as a result of it, they will control the whole area, they will inject themselves into the Chickasaws and will make themselves masters of all that part, doing to us all the injury they wish, hindering the meeting of the Nations you have planned. When Favre and Price return[54] I will inform you about the truth of this matter and will detail to you all the things with better information. It seems that there will be many rumors this spring, and as it is necessary for me to win partisans very soon, I am asking you to send the Merchandise that you told me about. It will arrive sooner if sent by water to Fort Tombigbee. Here are the things most necessary for the summer: Limbourg, Indian shirts, taffy, Vermillion, Knives, *Bucheson,* Red and white Flannel Cloth, Little black and white beads, Powder, Balls, and some guns. You will say perhaps that by frequenting the Choctaws I have become a beggar like they are, but the

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[50] Chief Richard Taylor of the Cherokees. See Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks,* 218; H. T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South* (Athens, 1956), 43, 80.

[51] Daniel McGillivray was a cousin of Alexander. See O'Neill to Carondelet, April 2, 1793, Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 150-51.

[52] A.G.I. P.C., 208.

[53] William Carney. See *Publications,* No. 28, p. 135n.

[54] See below, Villebeuvre to Carondelet, February [28?], 1793.

Choctaws are Simple folk whom presents move more than all speeches adorned with much rhetoric, and I must have presents on hand. I have told Favre and Price how they should conduct themselves in the Chickasaws, and I am counting heavily on them and also on the Cherokee Chief.[55] It is still fortunate that under the Circumstances they were in the Chickasaws. You have had Ogoulayacabe in the City; this is very Important. If Favre can succeed in sending Piomingo I shall be Satisfied; but I fear very much that this last stroke will hinder this, especially if it has been ordered, as I believe, at the Request of Blunt and Robertson.

I gave them orders also to propose to the King of the Chickasaws and Piomingo, on your part, the construction of Turnbull's store on the Margot River, and I have written to them about this but it is of no use to talk to them about a fort at present. I have already explained the reasons for this and I have informed you how we should act according to my way of thinking. I believe you will approve it. Without doubt you have spoken to Ogoulayacabe about the matter, and you will know in part how things are going. I beg you not to have any misgivings about the efforts I am making, and will make, to succeed at the Assembly with our nations and the others, but I am Chagrined to see that in spite of my pains and my labours it will run aground if a remedy is not found immediately.

I have seen only a very few of the Savages who have returned from the City, because they have been a long time on the journey on account of bad weather and high Water where one died of hunger, but when I see them I shall ask them if they have been well treated, and will inform you about what they say.

I know that the last arrivals complain very much that they received very little, but this undoubtedly refers to taffy, which is little or much according to whom it is given, and those that did not drink bought four or five Blankets for a barrel, or a horse, and all the family was dressed. This is their manner of trading. I advise you to be generous under the Circumstances, and you had better prohibit the traders selling it in the nation, and later on deprive them of it entirely. They don't say anything in the City, but in the Nation they murmur very much. When all the Chiefs and Warriors return from the Hunt I will call them together and reproach them for the excesses the Nakehitoches[56] have committed against the settlers and will Communicate your orders and give them the plans for the affairs of the moment such as exciting them to make war against the Osages and go over with them point by point what you have ordered.

Italagana[57] is returning from the City dissatisfied, according to what Franchimastabé tells me. He took the Crossroad and is gone to Natchez to see Mr. Gayoso to clarify his doubts.

He and Ygane houman of the Chenoukaha[58] are very much discontented with Franchimastabé; I have not seen them yet.

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[55] Chief Bloodyfellow of the Cherokees failed to convince Piomingo and his faction. Cotterill, *Southern Indians,* 98.

[56] The Natichitoches Indians lived over on the Red River. Carondelet's recent policy of encouraging the Choctaws and Chickasaws to hunt across the Mississippi had stirred up confusion among both whites and Indians over there. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, xvii, 10.

[57] Also Ytalaghana, etc. On this Choctaw chief see *ibid.,* 92-93.

[58] Chenoukaha was in the "Large Party" of the Choctaw nation. See n. 22, above.

On the return of Favre I will inform you about the reception of the Cherokees in the Chickasaws. These were Estimable people that have spent twelve days at my Home, and they have not inconvenienced me. Bloodyfellow is preferable to many white men. He asked me to recommend his son to whom he had sent by Ballew eleven Shillings to buy some apples. He begged you to send him some Salt to Tombigbee which he will get when he goes to the general assembly of the four nations. The Choctaws, always envious of good things done to others, say that the three Chiefs were better treated than they. I told them that there is a big difference between three persons and eight hundred, that they should not be surprised--The King of the Chickasaws left for His Nation three days after his arrival in the Choctaws. I do not know yet how he was received, but Ballew is on the way to catch the vagabonds. He offered him his services as I recommended.

I will take the greatest care and apply all my attention to inform myself of what goes on at the Chickasaw Bluffs and in Cumberland. If it is possible to do so, and will send you reports with all possible diligence when the case demands.

May God keep you in His Holy Care, Boukfouka, February 7, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT FROM HARDY PERRY, FEBRUARY 8, 1793[59]

Febery y 8 793 Holkey

to provisions for Mr Belew & his Company			
to 2 Bushells of Meal	5		
to 3 Bushell of potaters	6	=	
to 1½ Bushels of pounded Corn	4	=	4
to 100 lb of Bacon at 2[?] pr. pound	21	=	4
to 1 Cart of tobacow	1		
	38	=	0
to 1½ bushells parch corn meale	6	=	
to 16 lb bair meatt	3	=	
	47		0

account

Nine Dolars in the above
for the Bluddy fellow

15 December by Dericksons by Mr Froye[60] & Mr Belew to firnish Pawaimingo with provisions given him 6 Bushells of Corn — Dolars 12 rs

59 = 0

gover ment to Hardey Perry

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[59] A.G.I., P.C., 208. On Perry and this account see below, Villebeuvre to Carondelet, Feb. 27, 1793. See also *Publications* No. 28, p. 144.

[60] Benjamin Fooy. See *ibid.*, 128n. For a personal narrative concerning his past see Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, II, 29-30. Derickson seems to have been another Choctaw trader.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, FEBRUARY 9, 1793[61]

Boukfouka the 9 of February, 1793

Sir and Dear Governor
The Savage named Unna Entiabe who accompanies Mr. Ballew is one of the Chiefs of the party which arrested the vagabonds in the Chickasaws where he bound them and Conducted himself like a Ceasar in other ways. In the time of Mr. Gálvez[62] he killed some Englishmen and made some prisoners. He is a small fellow, but courageous and may be useful on occasion. I promised him [illegible] and I beg you to give it to him. He was well rewarded by the spoils from those people, as were the others, but nevertheless he probably desires a present from you. I ask you to question Mr. Ballew. He will give you plenty of particulars about the Chickasaws. I have the honor to be with the most profound respect Sir and Governor

Your humble and very obedient Servant
Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General

P.S. I have just learned that it was not the Scalps of the Creeks that the Chickasaws brought and danced the war dance, as I observed to you on that Occasion when it was really true that they had killed some Creeks. These Scalps were from some Osages and a living child that they made a slave. Undoubtedly it is this group which you told me about in your letter of December 30, 1792 that I received by Olakta opaye. But it is really true that the Creeks have gone in three Parties from that [illegible] and that the Chickasaws have killed some Creeks.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

I remit you a note of a small amount of merchandise that has been sent me and will remain at my House until I receive your orders. Mr. Ballew will give it to you and also that of the expenses of all these things, which I have paid.

[Translation]

PIOMINGO AND OTHERS TO CARONDELET, CHICKASAWS, FEBRUARY 11, 1793[63]

In the Chickasaws the 11th of February 1793
My Father
We received the Letter you sent us by Mr. Favre and the Cherokees which have given much pleasure and we all give you the hand, but we learn with sorrow that we have just had a man killed by the Creeks who have for a long time menaced us. They receive ammunition from you and kill all the white traders in the nation and pillage anything they can lay their hands on. As there is not time to receive a message we are going to take revenge and only inform you that we have listened to your letter with pleasure.

[61] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[62] Bernardo de Gálvez (1746-1786) was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1776. For services in recovering West Florida he was made captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas in 1781, retaining this position even when he was made captain general of Cuba in 1785 and viceroy of New Spain later the same year. The Choctaws assisted Gálvez against British West Florida, but the Chickasaws and Creeks were pro-British.

[63] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

My father: You have always promised us to consider us as your own children as well as the whites. Now is the time to prove it and let us know our real friends. Although we are few in our nation you always promised to help us. Now is the time since you have often sent us talks. My father we talk to you seeing our blood run on the ground, and being your children we hope that as a good father you will help us lift up our heads as soon as possible in order to Continue the peace.

Payemingo X Taskato X &ca
Olantenatla X Astabe X Mingo
Jorg (x) Colbert. Pichon X taksatabé
Capn. Glover X Parliot

[Translation]

BLOODYFELLOW TO CARONDELET, TCHOUKAFALA, FEBRUARY 11, 1793[64]

In the Village of Tchoukfala 11th of February 1793

My father

On leaving your House I went to Natchez where I saw the Governor. From there I went to the Choctaws where I stayed some days at the house of the Commissary where I was well received. I left for the Chickasaws, and everywhere I went up to the present the hand was given to me and peace was promised. My father, you desire to have all roads white but the Creeks have just stained them with blood spreading the blood of the Chickasaws which fact will spoil our way and consequently our talk. The former used your ammunition to make War and have begun by killing a white man in the Cherokees and [illegible] Choctaws in the Natchez and in the Chickasaws Who are your brothers, which is an insult to you. The 8th of the present month they killed the Warrior of Piomingo, which hindered his going to the City. You see what trouble they cause in a time like this which demands profound peace. As I observed that you had much confidence in those people, I did not dare tell you my way of thinking about them, but you see by this letter that they are cheating you. My father you told me that if one nation should be insulted by another you would have it satisfied. I hope that you will order the Creeks or those who command them to hand over the Malefactors to the Chickasaws in order that they may take Satisfaction and that peace may last between red men.

X Bloody fellor

BLOODYFELLOW TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, FEBRUARY [?], 1793[65]

Greate & Beloved father —

I am happy to let you Know that I have Arrived Safe in the Chacktaw [Choctaw] nation & I am now at the house of the Beloved man[.][66] the Governor of the Natchez wrote to the Commissary of this nation to Send two-Chiefs-with us to our Land in order to hold friendly talks with our People & the northward tribes also, & to Conclude on a general Union he has Sent two white men[67] with

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[64] A.G.I., P.C., 208. Tchoukafala (or Choukafala) was Piomingo's village.

[65] A.G.I., P.C., 208. A note in Spanish on this letter indicates that it went "through Mobile."

[66] Villebeuvre.

[67] Simon Favre and Thomas Price.

us as fair [far] as the Chickasaws to get two of their Chiefs also, for the same purpose I Shall Spare no Paine in talking to Piomingo I am Shure he must hear my talk Because he is my old friend & Can Speak my tongue as well as a Cherokee, I am informed he has heard McGillivrays' talk[68] & has Preposed to meet in the Chicktaw [Choctaw] nation to hold a General Council with the Differant tribes I Shall talk to all the beloved to meet at the old french forte on tombigbee thare to form a Union & hold a General Congress with all Nations, I hope you will have all things Provided at that Place by the Spring by your orders to the Commissary of the Chocktaws, it Can be don, —

I hope you will Send my Son with the Letters to our Nation Soon as Possible to let us know the time to meet I shall Look for him Every day after one moon from this time Send a Spaniard with him least Som Person Should say he was doing business for the americans & Should hurt him before he gits to me —

I hope you will Send orders to mr. Mcdonel [McDonald], to interpret all your Letters to us as I Chuse him for that Purpose I want you to be so Good as to Send me about five Bushells of Salt to the old french forte as I have a Greate Stock of Cattle & I Shall not have time to Look for any Else where Pray take Care of my Little Son untill I Come My oldist Son Can inform you when that time will bee

Keep all the Letters I Send you untill I Come myself I have Sent you this letter by my Elder Son to my father Baron, de Carondelet

(BF) Bloody Fellow

[Translation]

Bloody fellor has said before me that he sent this letter by Mr. Bellew. His son [illegible] which he Hopes you will have [answered?] by Him[69]

De la villebeuvre

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, FEBRUARY 27, 1793[70]

By the return of the people who went to bring the four prisoners to Fort St. Stephen[71] I learn that one escaped who was the biggest rascal of the four that were sent to the City, and undoubtedly through the fault of those in charge of him. He even stole the best two horses with which I had charged myself in the inventory. You do not know whom to trust today.

I send you by Toupa houman,[72] a Chief of the Small Medal, who left for the City, the letter from Piomingo of the Chickasaws and those of Bloodyfellow, as well as an account from Hardy Perry, a trader in the Chickasaws, for outlays made at his place by Messrs. Ballew and Fooy. For his services in helping to arrest the prisoners this man does not ask for anything for his trouble, but only to be reimbursed for what he spent, which amounts to the sum of 59 piastres. I am also sending a list of articles by the said iniu Bere [Newberry?], a Chickasaw

[68] Alexander McGillivray. The talk was sent at Carondelet's request. Cotterill, *Southern Indians*, 98.

[69] The note is in French, while the rest of the letter is in English.

[70] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[71] Fort St. Stephen was in the Tensa settlement of Anglo-Americans on the Tombigbee River below Ft. Tombigbee.

[72] A Choctaw chief from the village of Bissache (or Besache). Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 89. He was one of the chiefs given a commission and a medal by Blount. See also *Publications*, No. 28, pp. 129-30.

Mestizo who bought from the vagabonds a negress belonging to Ben James,[73] whom he will return demanding what was due him according to the note to Perry. We could give him everything except the Carbine, which has probably been given to the Savages. I beg you to give me your orders in this matter as well as that concerned with Perry's statement. I was also charged with two silver Bridles that the Commandant of Fort St. Stephen[74] obliged the boatman to send to the wife of a prisoner because she said it was hers. It seems to me that she should not have anything since she is just his Concubine. He also gave her two Saddles and three Horses and still I am charged with everything without having her at my disposition. I had just returned to that woman all the clothes, including some merchandise, that I let her have through too much Consideration. She is a bad woman according to gossip. The negro belonging to those vagabonds, who ran away on the road, has been found. He is at the Home of a man named Jones, a trader in the Choctaws. who will also doctor him since his feet and legs were frozen. I promised to pay this man when he sends the negro to me. Instruct me what to do with him, and with the Horses that I am having kept at a cost of fifteen piastres per month, one having been stolen by the Savages.

Mr. Favre learned in the Chickasaws from Malcolm McGee and Perry, that Five Americans have left Kentucky and have crossed the Mississippi toward Illinois, going two hundred leagues west towards the sea, and went to a place where there is an English trading Company, and they believe that this is the place where the Spaniards Confiscated two English Ships some time ago.

They also learn that the Commandant of L'Ainse a la Graisse[75] had sent a man with 400 pesos to buy some beeves in Cumberland and that he was killed by the Cherokees who mistook him for an American. I have also just learned from an individual named Poucha houman of Ebitagogoulouche,[76] who has just arrived from the Chickasaws, reporting that the 50 men from the Chickasaws left in two groups from the village of Piomingo, Choukafala, some fourteen days ago, going toward Taskalousa [Tuscaloosa] where they think they will find some Creeks out hunting so they can kill some of them. He also mentioned that the King of the Chickasaws, Taskihatoka, came to the Choctaws with a *tapina* [belt?] and a bloody Knife bringing a war talk to the latter, who according to reports will not receive it and all the Warriors said that if the Chiefs Accepted it they could go to the Chickasaws and make War with them, and the Small Party says about the same Thing.

Piomingo asked for ammunition and arms from the Americans to defend himself from the Creeks. It would be wise to have some of the light draft galleys at the Chickasaw Bluffs to keep on the lookout since a dozen Chickasaws left sixteen days ago, four from the village of Piomingo, four from that of Taska hetoka [the King of the Chickasaws], and four from Ogoulayacabe's village of Chatalaya, led by a mestizo named Babe, and Piomingo has asked for ten Cannon or swivels, which seems to me to be a matter of importance—

The Choctaws are saying that it is I, mingo Pouscouche,[77] and Favre that have written to you not to give them drinks and they are ill disposed toward us. Please give them a little under the Circumstances.

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[73] For Ben James see *ibid.*, No. 25 (1953), 79n.

[74] The commandant has not been identified.

[75] Capt. Thomas Portell, destined to wreck his military career by surrendering Fort St. Marks to William Augustus Bowles in 1800.

[76] A Choctaw village of the Large Party.

[77] For this principal chief and his fellows see the list of Choctaw chiefs given in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 88-89.

I am sending an American commission for a Chief of the small medal. The others will be brought to you in a short time when the Indians have returned from the hunts, and they have asked that Pitchlynn go with them. A Hunting Indian going to sell his oil to the whites, having landed his canoe, the inhabitants of Natchez shot at him, and he would have been killed if he had not thrown himself into the water. His canoe was taken, also two *far* of oil, twenty bear and deer skins and, in short, everything he had. He wanted to take revenge, but I talked to him and he says he wants his skins paid for and his oil and merchandise and all he had paid for, and a gratuity for having been shot at. I could give him nothing, having nothing on hand, which is the situation in which I often find myself. I told him I would give him a Letter to the governor. I earnestly beg you to give orders for this not to happen again, for some of the people in the Nation, and I may be the first, will pay for the others.

May the Lord keep you in his Holy Care, Boukfouka, February 27, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, [BOUKFOUKA?], FEBRUARY [28?], 1793[78]

I see that Circumstances require that I inform you immediately that Messrs. Favre and Price have arrived. I am obliged to do this because they have handed me a Letter that I wrote to Mr. Gayoso on the 5th of this month.[79] I wrote him that the Creeks were going to kill some of the inhabitants of Natchez and the letter was returned on the 26th of the same month. The couriers said that they could not cross the bayous which were out of their banks like a sea to such an extent that Favre and Price were obliged to walk three days in water up to their waists in the lowlands. In order to assemble some of the Chickasaws then [illegible]. The Cherokees have brought some letters that you wrote to the Chickasaws in an assembly which they have held recently. They presented the beads which have been accepted, and have received the talks with pleasure. Piomingo himself sent to seek Tasky Hetoka the king who returned home, and all the Chickasaws with one accord have said that this was very advantageous for the red men, who by this means would be protected from having their lands taken from them as all kinds of whites have done with merchandise up to the present time, but since the Creeks in the meantime have killed a Chickasaw, the talk has stopped there, and the Cherokees said they would return this spring.

It was not without cause that I repeated to you in my previous letter that I was quite afraid the Creeks would start a war in spite of all the precautions that I have taken to avoid one between our nations. That has just happened while Favre was in the Chickasaw Nation, and this is the way it came about. Three groups of the former being East of the Chickasaws, found one of Piomingo's warriors in his cabin and killed him, and the Chickasaws found out about it immediately; however, Favre was able to persuade Piomingo and all the other Chickasaws to await your reply before taking revenge; but unfortunately the second party of eight men, of whom four had gone to the home of Hardy Perry, a trader in the Chickasaws, to ask for food, and the Chickasaws found out about

[78] A.G.I., P.C., 208. The contents show that this letter was written after February 26. The other letter on the 27th gives no indication of such a letter on that day. Hence the probability of February 28.

[79] Printed above.

it and killed three or four of the Creeks that were there, of whom one is the son of Chief Fahakio[80] of the Creeks and another is his nephew. You can be sure that revenge will be prompt. Five of those that have been defeated have come to me to tell of the things as they happened, saying that they were going to kill some Americans and not some Chickasaws. I hastened to send them back to their homes and wrote to McGillivray and Olivier[81] what had happened. Although the Creeks assured me they were never in the nation, this seemed very strange to me under the circumstances.

I have just learned that the Chickasaws sent out two parties against the Creeks immediately after those three men were killed. It is not possible to stop them now as they are on the way, and furthermore, the roads are being watched. One could not go there except at great risk from one nation or the other, for the Chickasaws say that it is our powder and balls that did the killing and this has set them against us. As I learned that they were to send a talk and a spy to the Choctaws, I put the Chickasaws on guard in case the talk was not received, and up to the present they do not seem disposed to receive it. The talk of the Chickasaws has just arrived by a Choctaw, and all the chiefs of the nation are to assemble on the sixth of the month and have advised me to be there. I shall do all I can to hinder it underhandedly, and have been able to influence many of the Chickasaws already. The Chickasaws will watch me to see if I am hindering the Choctaws, haughtily saying that our desire is to sacrifice them, and that I am trying to effect it, but I got the Choctaws to understand that while there was a war with the Creeks in the time of the English, the Chickasaws did not give them the hand, and therefore they should not mix in the present affair, and I hope they will refuse, but if some of the Choctaws remaining in the Chickasaws get killed, I fear very much that the war will become general. Fearing that this will happen, the Choctaws have asked that a large amount of arms and ammunition be sent to Fort St. Stephen, and being willing to profit by this opportunity, I told them that it would be better to take the goods to Fort Tombigbee,[82] since it is much nearer. They have not refused me. Finally, the Creeks claim that the Chickasaws killed two of their men last summer, two of them from the Kentucky area of Western Virginia, in addition to three they have just killed. The Chickasaws told Favre that they have no knowledge of their people having killed any Creeks in the North, and that if this were true they would have known about it. When Piomingo learned of the death of his warrior he hastened to Natchez, from which he will go on to New Orleans with all his warriors to speak to you. I am sending you the letters, and also those from the Cherokees[83] who feared they would be killed in the Chickasaws by relatives of the deceased, who hid themselves to wait for these men, and from whom Piomingo saved them when he learned of their danger.

Favre and Price also feared they would be killed by some Creeks on their return from the Chickasaws. The Creeks were hidden behind a tree and had them covered as they approached, but fortunately the chief recognized Favre and kept the others from firing on them. Behold the present state of affairs because of

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[80] Better known as Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee, who became the leading Creek after the death of Alexander McGillivray on February 17, 1793.

[81] Captain Pedro Olivier, Spanish commissary to the Creeks. The McGillivray was Alexander.

[82] Reference is to the old French Fort Tombigbee, not in use at the moment. In 1794 Fort Confederation was built near this site and named in honor of the confederation of Southern Indians that Carondelet had built up.

[83] See above, Piomingo and Others to Carondelet, Feb. 11, 1793, and Bloodyfellow to Carondelet, Feb. 11, 1793.

the Creeks. It is necessary to find some remedy for this situation regardless of the cost, and I believe (with due deference to your better judgment) that you should act as mediator between the two nations and use Choctaw chiefs as ambassadors between the Chickasaws and the Creeks. This is what I hope to propose at the assembly, but, as you well know, it will be necessary to give those people the wherewith to adorn themselves, and I have nothing of the kind, not even vermillion. Please send me some of the necessary articles as soon as possible by way of Mobile, because I already owe Favre some Limbourg as you will see in the note from the prisoners.

The Chickasaws have gone to build some forts and do not wish to sell any of their goods, but rather are demanding more for themselves.

The two hundred bushels of corn which Robertson sent to Piomingo are completely used up, while the Chickasaws have not profited by this food and are dying of hunger.

Many Chickasaws have arrived here on the way back from the war against the Osages, and have brought a woman and child prisoners, having killed in this war many Osages from whom they were not able to take any horses, and lost two of their own men.

Favre found out from the Chickasaws that the savages make continual war on the Americans in Cumberland and Kentucky, where all the inhabitants have been obliged to build forts to protect themselves.

Do not forget to let me know whether you are still intending to give corn to the Choctaws. This is what will hold them, and it will have a marvelous effect. I beg you to let me know so I can announce it to them. I have spoken to them about it.

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NEILL S. BROWN AND RUSSIAN REACTION TO AMERICAN SYMPATHY FOR THE HUNGARIAN EXILES, 1851-52: SOME DOCUMENTS

Edited by JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

The recent suppression of the Hungarian strike for freedom by the Soviet Union recalls the destruction by Imperial Russia of a similar Magyar attempt at national self-determination somewhat over a century ago. In 1849, as in 1956, the free world—of democratic governments, as opposed to autocracy—viewed with alarm and compassion the spectacle of a Russian despotism crushing liberty in the name of law and order. Then, as now, the plight and outraged cries of thousands of Hungarian refugees and exiles evoked the sympathy and wrath of Americans and, among some more daring and restless souls, gave rise to a demand for political and/or military intervention on the part of the United States to restore to Hungary the liberty that had been smothered by the ancestors of Marx's unnatural heirs. But in spite of the hopes and schemes of these Manifest Destiny and "Young America" firebrands, the *realpolitik* of the nation, its lack of strength, and, on the part of many, a distrust of revolution—even in the name of liberty—precluded any American action to challenge the autocracies of Central and Eastern Europe. No American was more impressed by these considerations than the United States minister in St. Petersburg, Neill S. Brown.

Until excerpts of Brown's dispatches from Russia were published in General Walter Bedell Smith's memoir,[1] his service in St. Petersburg during the Indian Summer of the Nicholas System[2] of Tsar Nicholas I was only a half-forgotten memory.[3] His evaluation of the Russian autocracy and description of the frustrations experienced in dealing with Imperial officials, although not novel,[4] were convenient analogies

[1] Walter Bedell Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow* (New York, 1950), *passim.*

[2] *Cf.* Joseph O. Baylen, "A Tennessee Politician in Imperial Russia, 1850-1853," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), XIV (1955), 227-52.

[3] See William C. Bullitt to the Secretary of State, March 4, 1936, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, The Soviet Union, 1933-1939* (Washington, D. C., 1952), 289-91.

[4] Carroll Kilpatrick, "An American in Russia: 1850," *The Virginia Quarterly Review* (Charlottesville), XXXVIII (1952), 183-90; *cf.* Joseph O. Baylen, "James Buchanan's 'Calm of Despotism'," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia), LXXVII (1953), 294-310.

used out of their proper frame of reference by such American ambassadors as William C. Bullitt and General Smith to illustrate how little the character of Great Russian officialdom had changed during the last century.[5] Unfortunately, this emphasis has obscured the work and candid thoughts of an American "shirtsleeve" diplomat from the border states in mid-nineteenth century Europe.

Before gaining the mission in Russia as a reward for political services to the administration of President Zachary Taylor, Brown had distinguished himself as an able governor of Tennessee (1847-49) and had achieved prominence in state and national Whig party circles.[6] In spite of his limited background, he brought to Russia mature political experience and a conservative outlook which enabled him not only to deal successfully with the embarrassing results in Russia of the semi-official reception accorded to Louis Kossuth in the United States, but to assess and interpret for the Department of State the realities of the depressing period which followed the failure of liberalism and republicanism in the upheavals of 1848.

Brown's dispatches dealing with the effects in Russia of the Kossuth "craze" in the United States and his advice concerning this emotional outburst aptly illustrate how closely the conservative outlook of the southern Whigs coincided with the philosophy of "the real conservative friends of liberty" in Europe.[7] Like his hero, Edmund Burke, Brown shared their love of "Social order and liberty" and distaste for "lawless combinations . . . without any definite design of government," and warned against any precipitate action on the part of the United States which might identify American democracy with the "Jacobinism" of European "Red republicans, communists, and socialists."[8] However, it was not alone isolationism that impelled Brown to caution Taylor's successor, Millard Fillmore, and the bombastic secre-

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[5] Kilpatrick, "An American in Russia," *loc. cit., passim.*

[6] See biographical sketches of Neill S. Brown (1810-1886) in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. and Supplement (New York, 1928-), III, 147-48; Joshua W. Caldwell, *Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 362-64; John Allison (ed.), *Notable Men of Tennessee* (Atlanta, 1905), 107-08; John Wooldridge, *et al.* (comps.), *History of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 402.

[7] Brown to the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, November 6, 1851, No. 12, Dispatches from the United States Ministers to Russia, 1808-1906, Vol. IV of the Diplomatic Dispatches, Russia Series (Feb. 3, 1846-June 25, 1853), Roll 15, National Archives Microcopy No. 35. These records are in The National Archives, Washington, D. C., and the microcopy in the author's possession; hereafter cited as Diplomatic Dispatches.

[8] *Ibid.*

tary of state, Daniel Webster, to eschew "the sword of propagandism" of Manifest Destiny chauvinists and "Young America" interventionists, but "an appreciation of the value of American institutions quickened by what [he had] seen [in Europe]."[9] Indeed, unlike most insular politicians of his party, Brown possessed the vision to foresee that the inevitable annihilation of distance, the growth of American power, and the pressure of European minority groups in the United States would eventually militate against its aloofness from European concerns.[10]

Rec'd 28th Nov.
No. 12

United States Legation
St. Petersburg Nov. 6th 1851

Sir.

. . . The arrival of Kussuth [*sic*] in England is at present attracting a good deal of interest.[11] All his productions since his liberation, savour so strongly of radicalism,[12] that he is beginning to be viewed with some distrust even by many who have heretofore been his friends and admirers. And I doubt not, these indications of his opinions and affinities form matter of felicitation with the patrons and advocates of despotic power. For while Red republicans, communists, and socialists, may be inflamed by his influence, so long as his bearing is in that direction, the real conservative friends of liberty, will be repelled by it, and be disposed to rally to the central power for the preservation of society.[13]

Social order and liberty find their worst enemies in these lawless combinations; for they are animated by a spirit of licentiousness without any definite design of government. In their hands, the name of freedom has been and ever will be, brought into disrepute.

How far Kossuth's want of familiarity with these parties in Western Europe, and the imperfection of his language, may atone for sentiments which are accredited to him, I have no means of knowing. But one thing is certain that he is at this moment the idol of the Jacobin factions and distrusted and rejected by the conservatives.[14] His liberation has given some offense to Austria and Russia, but there is no probability that it will result in a formal complaint

[9] Brown to Webster, January 28, 1852, No. 15, *ibid.*

[10] Brown to Webster, May 27, 1852, No. 20, *ibid.*

[11] Since early January, 1850, the United States had seconded Anglo-French efforts to secure the release of Kossuth and other Magyar refugees. On September 10, 1851, the *U. S. S. Mississippi* was detailed from the Mediterranean Squadron to transport Kossuth and fellow exiles from Turkey to Gibraltar from whence they proceeded to England on another vessel. Merle E. Curti, "Austria and the United States, 1848-1852. A Study in Diplomatic Relations," *Smith College Studies in History,* XI (1926), 170-73. Hereafter cited as "Austria and U. S."

[12] A reference to the news that immediately after Kossuth's arrival in England on October 23, 1851, he had launched a series of "savage attacks" on Austria and Russia. Adolph Schwarzenberg, *Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg, Prime Minister of Austria, 1848-1852* (New York, 1946), 184.

[13] Thus also Professor Trevelyan wrote of Kossuth: ". . . it may be doubted whether any man since Robespierre did so much injury to the Liberal cause." George Macaulay Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1782-1919* (London, 1948), 293.

[14] Brown may have been aware of the unfavorable reports communicated to Washington by the American consul in Marseilles and the captain of the *Mississippi* regarding Kossuth's conduct. Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 175-77.

by either.[15] They will both find sufficient employment to watch and resist the agitations around them.

As Kossuth will probably soon be in the United States,[16] and as what will be said and done there both by him and others will be narrowly watched, I have thought it proper to say this much solely in reference to his arrival. And if I may venture a suggestion, it is that in some way or other, if possible, he be influenced to assume such position in the United States as will take from the mouths of his enemies their present arguments against him, and vindicate his well-earned title to the confidence of all true friends of popular rights.[17]

During the past year, it has been evident that the policy of Russia towards foreigners and their entrance into the Empire, was becoming more and more stringent. I heard of several Americans last summer who were unable to procure *visas* from the Russian Legations at different points . . . . This arises mainly from political considerations and a fear of foreign influence upon the popular mind. To this may be added that there is a strong anti-foreign party in Russia,[18] whose policy would exclude all foreigners except for mere purposes of transient commerce. They conceive that the motive of . . . opening the door to traders and artisans, has been answered, and that they have learned sufficiently the lessons of civilization to maintain its craft and its maxims by themselves . . . . [Yet,] No nation has more need of foreigners and none is so jealous or ungrateful towards them.

These remarks have no special reference to Americans. On the contrary, the Americans rank as high here, if not more so, than any other people; and though republicans, they are known and acknowledged not to be propagandists.[19]

The government of Russia is consistent. It promises no freedom, and gives none. Yet it is but justice to say, and such is the prevalent belief among for-

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[15] The minister was undoubtedly unaware that about this time (early November, 1851), Prince Schwarzenberg had instructed the Austrian *chargé* in Washington, Chevalier Hülsemann, to leave his post in the capital in the event of public demonstrations in favor of Kossuth and to lodge a strong protest with the Department of State if the United States should encourage or condone hostile demonstrations against Austria. *Ibid.*, 177. Similar instructions were dispatched to the Austrian envoy in London. Schwarzenberg, *Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg,* 184.

[16] Kossuth arrived in the United States on December 5, 1851.

[17] This was a plea to the State Department to restrain Kossuth from repeating some of his intemperate speeches and to isolate him from the "Young America" interventionists in the United States. Brown, of course, did not know that in late October and again in November, 1851, President Fillmore and Webster had assured the Austrian government that Kossuth would not be permitted to use the United States as a base for revolutionary activity. Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 174-76; Merle E. Curti, "Young America," *American Historical Review* (New York), XXXII (1926), 34-55, *passim*. Hereafter cited as "Young America."

[18] Undoubtedly a reference to the more vocal anti-Western Slavophiles and extreme nationalists.

[19] An allusion to the affection of Nicholas I for such Americans as the soldier-engineer George Washington Whistler (1800-1849). Whistler came to Russia in 1842 as a consulting engineer, participated in the construction of the first railroad in Russia, and supervised the building of docks and fortifications at Kronstadt. For his services to the Imperial government, Whistler was decorated by the Tsar and later died of cholera in St. Petersburg in 1849. See Brown to Webster, August 16, 1850, No. 2, Diplomatic Dispatches; Harvey Wish, "Getting Along with the Romanovs," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, N. C.), XLVII (1919), 306 (hereafter cited "Getting Along with the Romanovs"); H. K. Barrows, "George Washington Whistler," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XX, 72.

eigners and natives, that if the Emperor of Russia were to make pledges he would redeem them at all hazards. He plumes himself on his good faith.

I have the honor to be
Your obedient Servant
s/Neill S. Brown

Mr. Daniel Webster
Sec. of State
Washington City

Rec'd 4th March
No. 15

Legation of the United States
St. Petersburg 28th January 1852

Sir:

. . . You are aware that this Government together with those of Austria and Prussia have demanded the exclusion of political refugees from England. With how much earnestness this claim has been pressed, I have no means of knowing, nor what alternative if any has been indicated in case of refusal.[20]

In this demand Russia does not assume the ground of the real plaintiff but only a sort of next friend interposing its good offices for others. It is understood that some of the Emperors [*sic*] best friends advise him against the courses he has taken, and represent the questions as involving great commercial evils and difficulties to parties concerned. But according to my best information he is inflexible.[21]

The late tour of M. Kossuth in England, and the apprehension of his influence in stirring up and organizing the numerous exiles already there, and that may still assemble there, was doubtless the moving cause of this course of policy. It is understood that the proposition includes his exclusion from the country.

This is one of the many proofs that these governments are leagued in a crusade against liberalism in Europe and that they are determined to give no quarter to its advocates, wherever they may be found. I am satisfied that the feelings of Russia on the subject are deep and bitter, but with its characteristic cunning and forcaste [?], it has managed in the above instance as well as in others to put Austria and Prussia in the foreground and to play itself a subordinate part. I do not know what step is to be taken in the event of the rejection of this demand by the English Government, but it is said that the refusal will be followed by some stringent measures against English subjects found in, or entering, the territories of these Governments. Access into them now by all foreigners is difficult; It will require little more to render it impracticable. It is a grave question and cannot fail to excite a storm if pressed to an extreme. Besides its effect on the British Government, which cannot for a moment be doubted, it would drive into desperation that numerous class of exiles who have now no asylum on earth except England and the United

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[20] At the time of Kossuth's arrival in England, the Austrian government was particularly distressed by Palmerston's open sympathy for the Magyar rebels and now threatened to withdraw its envoy from London. Schwarzenberg, *Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg*, 184.

[21] The Tsar apparently heeded this advice. In April, 1852, he indicated to Her Majesty's government that he would support any move to frustrate French aggression against Belgium. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1954), 47.

States and whose only refuge would be to cross the Atlantic or make a last stand for liberty.

I have no positive evidence of any unfriendly feeling towards the United States on the part of Russia, but I have believed for some time that there existed a certain degree of coldness. I have attributed this to the hatred generally of free institutions, but more particularly to the relations of the United States towards M. Kossuth.[22] Nothing however has occurred worthy of particular notice, and I trust will not. I shall not be over hasty in assuming anything that may transpire as offensive.

The Emperor is understood to chafe a great deal under the speeches of Kossuth. The derision and the irony of the orator, sometimes indulged towards him and his Government, wound him worse than abuse . . . .

Russia occupies, and will continue to occupy, a commanding position in every struggle against popular rights. And though other governments, its allies and subordinates, may seem to be most active, yet they are but puppets on the stage. The motive power is the man behind the scenes, and that man is the Emperor of Russia. He is the formidable antagonist of the people. He is the modern Philip of Macedon; strong in resources both mental and physical, but still more powerful in his position, and impelled by a hostility to free institutions that admits of no compromise and yields to no relaxation . . . .

The news of the reception of Kossuth by the Government of the United States has just reached here and I am expecting with some anxiety its effect upon the Russian cabinet. Had Kossuth gone to the United States to remain I have good reasons for believing that the Emperor would have rejoiced at it without regard to his reception. To have him permanently out of Europe would be no small assurance of the general peace; and his avowals against socialism and red republicanism have confirmed his strength with the better classes and dispelled the suspicions that attached to him to some extent on his first appearance from Turkey.

The official character of his reception in Washington,[23] coupled with the previously avowed purpose of his visit, his earnest appeals for intervention in behalf of his country, with the strong popular enthusiasm which they have enlisted[24] present the matter in a new light to the mind of this government.

Without any conclusive evidence as yet, I would not be surprised to receive a complaint at any moment. I have already said that I infer the existence of a cold state of feeling, and that the Emperor is a good deal exasperated. A few days will determine his course. The "coup d'état" of Louis Napoleon, resulting in the suppression of revolutionary tendencies in France for the

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[22] See fn. 11. In June, 1849, the Taylor administration had dispatched to Vienna the executive agent, A. Dudley Mann, with instructions to grant recognition to the Magyar rebels if the stability of their regime warranted such action. See Clayton to Mann, June 18, 1849, *Senate Docs.*, 31 Congress, 1 session, Vol. X, Exec. Doc. No. 43, Part II. Then, on March 3, 1851, Taylor's successor, Fillmore, approved a joint resolution of Congress for the relief of Kossuth and his fellow exiles which directed their transport to the United States on an American vessel. Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 170.

[23] On the enthusiastic reception that Kossuth received upon his arrival in the United States, see Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1950), 286-87; Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations from the Earliest Times to Our Day* (Ithaca, 1950), 58; Wish, "Getting Along with the Romanovs," 343; Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 182.

[24] In spite of Webster's pledge to treat Kossuth as a "private person," the Magyar nationalist was tendered what amounted to an official welcome upon his arrival in Washington and was invited to address Congress. *Ibid.*, 182.

present, has relieved many apprehensions here and gives great opportunities for action upon other points.

I sincerely hope that nothing tempt [*sic*] us to intervene in the affairs of Europe in any way.[25] To do so would be to enter upon an indifferent career of difficulties. Europe is not our battlefield nor was [*sic*] our destiny. The steady, silent, but magnificent display of our example will accomplish more in liberalizing Europe than all the armies we could send. Our vast growth, physically, morally and intellectually already amazes all who contemplate it. Our railroads, telegraphs, canals, tonnage and public schools are mute but eloquent witnesses of the superiority of our institutions. These governments that have grown hoary with age, find themselves already in the rear of anything that tends to better the condition of man and elevate his higher nature. And let no one suppose that the eye of enquiry will be closed to the cause of our unparalleled success. The cause is known by all who read. The example will be contagious so long as it remains a mere example. But so soon as Mahomet[-]like we draw the sword of propagandism, the charm is broken. The ten thousand moral agencies, that now surround us and are doing the work which armed hosts could not accomplish, are converted into mere physical ones, and our future votaries will be but victims instead of converts.[26]

I am persuaded that no American can remain a year in Europe, devoting himself to just observation, without feeling the liveliest sense of the importance of our nonintervention doctrines not only as regards our own safety, which is the paramount consideration, but as relates to the propagation of political liberty among other nations. And I know no better cure for discontent and fanaticism, and for an excessive spirit of propagandism, than a sojourn in Europe.

You will pardon the expression of these views. They have the apology of an appreciation of the value of our institutions quickened by what I have seen. And if I carry nothing else home with me, I shall have at least an offering of renewed fidelity for that government under which it was my good fortune to be born.

I have the honor to be
Your obedient Servant
s/Neill S. Brown

To the Hon
Daniel Webster

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[25] During his stay in the United States, Kossuth passionately condemned Russia as the *bête noire* of liberty in Europe and called for an Anglo-American alliance to support European liberalism by containing Russian autocracy. But the ardor of the American people cooled when they became aware of the fact that he desired nothing less than armed intervention in Europe. Bailey, *America Faces Russia,* 58-59.

[26] Brown was at this point reflecting the sentiments of many members of the northern and southern wings of the Whig party who looked with disfavor upon the Kossuth "craze" in the United States (Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 184n) and the interventionist propaganda of the aggressive "Young America" groups. On the other hand, Democrat congressmen from the pro-interventionist mid-western states urged strong action on the part of the United States against the reactionary European autocracies and the support of nationalism and republicanism in Europe. But southern Democrats joined the Whigs in bitterly opposing such "meddling" in European affairs on the grounds that (1) it would give European powers the right to intervene in the domestic concerns of the United States, (2) the "secret" of American "greatness" lay in its isolation, and (3) "foreign meddling" would increase the power of the federal government at the expense of the states. Curti, "Young America," 36-37; A. J. May, *Contemporary American Opinion of the Mid-Century Revolution in Central Europe* (Philadelphia, 1927), 126-28. On middle western sympathy for Kossuth, see John W. Oliver, "Louis Kossuth's Appeal to the Middle West—1852," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XIV (1928), 481-95.

Rec'd 3d April
No. 16

Legation of the United States
St. Petersburg 29th February 1852

Sir.

Lest my despatch No. 15 should cause some anxiety with regard to the diplomatic relations with Russia, I take the first opportunity to state that I have seen no confirmation of the apprehensions which I expressed. On the contrary though I still believe there has been some winter about the palace, I think it is not likely to obstruct intercourse.

There have recently been two grand parties at the palace to which the diplomatic corps were [*sic*] invited and in attendance. These occasions furnished me to make some observations, and I discovered nothing to inspire any particular distrust. I do not think the Emperor was as cordial as in formal interviews. He certainly was less communicative, but evinced nothing from which I could draw any particular inferences. But the fact of having been invited to these parties under all circumstances is a favorable evidence and my opinion is, from all that I have seen and heard, that no complaint will be made, and that the past will be treated at least with silence.

You are well enough acquainted with the character of this government and court, to appreciate the difficulties of obtaining correct information of what is meditated on any subject. It is only by weighing circumstances that opinions can be arrived at and formed, [and] in this way they are always liable to be fallacious. These difficulties are increased by the fact that the policy of Russia seems not to be based at present, any more than it was at former periods, on settled principles or to be guided by any fixed landmarks. Expediency is the great test and what may be expedient today under a given set of facts, may be inexpedient tomorrow under the same set of facts.

I sincerely hope that nothing may occur to mar the friendly relations between the two countries as no perceptible benefit could result from it, either to themselves or to others.

If I may infer anything from the demeanor of the Austrian Legation here, I would suppose that our Government was in bad odor at Vienna. They have been very sly and distant for some time past.[27] I do not believe that government has many warm sympathies, if it has any at all. Policy and necessity constitute the sole elements of all the friendships it can claim. A good deal of interest is manifested to know the ultimate state of diplomatic relations between the two countries. And the remark is often made that in the event of a serious breach between them, the advantages would all be on the side of Austria. It has no foreign commerce to be injured while it would find a rich prey in ours and could gratify its hatred for our Government without risk to itself . . . .

Very respectfully
Your obedient Servant
s/Neill S. Brown

To the Hon.
Daniel Webster

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[27] The Austrian government was highly incensed by the American role in the liberation of Kossuth, the welcome accorded him in the United States, and, more recently, Daniel Webster's impolitic speech, greeting the Magyar in Washington in early January, 1852. As a result, the Austrian *chargé* withdrew in protest from the capital. Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 160-88; J. W. McIntyre (ed. and comp.), *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster,* 18 vols. (Boston, 1903), XIII, 452-62.

Rec'd 18th June.
No. 20

Legation of the United States
St. Petersburg 27th May 1852

Sir.

. . . I have had a good deal last winter to try my patience for this government possesses in an equisite [*sic*] degree the art of worrying a foreign representative, without giving him even the consolation of an insult. I was apprehensive for some time, that there would be a breach of diplomatic intercourse. But the occasion that gave rise to this suspicion having passed off, nothing remains of a tangible nature to excite any disquietude.[28]

The Emperor of Russia is at present at Berlin having previously visited Vienna. He had been received, as we learn, at those two courts with strong demonstrations of regard. And everything indicates the most perfect accord between the different rulers. They are smoking together not only the pipe of peace, but of fraternal affection over the downfall of constitutional government. And so far as can be seen, there is not even a spirit of reserve in the homage paid to those representatives of absolutism. . . .[29]

There is in no quarter of Europe the least tendency to revolution; and it seems as if popular reform both body and spirit had been effectually crushed. In this state of almost universal return to the principles of absolutism, its patrons and exponents may well rejoice and interchange their congratulations. They are at present not only invincible but fully conscious of their triumph and of their strength.

The chief, if not the sole antagonist of this state of things, is our own country; and that antagonism is rendered more palpable, in proportion, as all kindred attempts and combinations have one after another resulted in signal failures. Who can tell what power in the pride and plenitude of its strength and resources may attempt? Flushed with success, and animated with a hatred of popular institutions, will it be content with its victories while an enemy remains? Steam has brought the two continents into close and rapid communication. Space is no longer a barrier. And one unexampled success tends but to rivet upon us more and more closely every day the eye of observation. The vast emigration to the United States from Central and Western Europe is a source of disquietude to those powers. Besides the drain it inflicts upon their physical resources and the numerical strength it is constantly and by a swelling tide

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[28] Brown had reference to the anti-Russian resolutions which Kossuth's tirades against Nicholas I and Russia provoked in the United States. See Brown to Webster, January 28, 1852, No. 15 above; Wish, "Getting Along with the Romanovs," 343; Clyde Augustus Duniway, "Daniel Webster (Second Term)," *The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy,* ed. by Samuel Flagg Bemis, 10 vols. (New York, 1928), VI, 91-92. But while Kossuth's speeches "chilled" Russo-American relations, the conciliatory overtures of President Fillmore and Webster in Washington and Brown in St. Petersburg, the efforts of Alexander de Bodisco, the Russian minister in Washington, to soothe the ruffled feelings of his Austrian colleague, and the knowledge that the American public was generous with little more than sympathy for Kossuth, mollified the Austrian and Russian governments. Bailey, *America Faces Russia,* 58-59; Curti, "Austria and U. S.," 187-93.

[29] The fact that Nicholas's visit to Vienna and Berlin was marked by great cordiality and unanimity among the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian monarchs made it appear as a personal triumph for the Tsar and the spirit of reaction. Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History and Interpretation,* 2 vols. (New York, 1953), II, 858.

adding to ours, every emigrant who settles in the United States becomes to the extent of his powers of correspondence a missionary of our principles to his own country. This tends to increase the tide of emigration and to excite a spirit of discontent in the fatherland.[30]

Emigration, which was formerly regarded as a safety valve to the body politic, relieving it of its paupers and malefactors, has enlarged its scope and now includes men of standing and property; and thus becomes a drain not only to the dross but to the precious metal of society.

It may be considered a problem in arithmetic, how long the mere physical loss of two or three hundred thousand souls per annum can be borne without serious detriment [and] without reference to the retroactive moral consequences which must follow, and in a like increasing ratio.

Besides all this the foreign population in our country are continually forming schemes for revolutionizing their own countries and their weight is thrown in behalf of all aggressive measures involved in our own elections.[31] And thus our country is regarded as the grand manufactory of liberal and revolutionary principles and is more to be dreaded in the end than any other, or all other nations, in this strife between the two elements of power. Those who believe, in the face of these things, that the United States can long escape difficulties with Europe have more faith in the future than I have. Our safety, heretofore, was in our own insignificance, our distance, and in the domestic feuds of the old world [*sic*]. That insignificance no longer exists; that distance is annihilated, and those domestic feuds are allayed, and an iron rule sways the whole continent, and to all appearances by the consent of the people.

Those who believe we might rely in the day of our tribulation upon the aid of Great Britain lean in my opinion upon a broken reed. No nation, in such an emergency, would be in a better position to maintain a neutrality, and this both from necessity and interest. Her commerce is her life. The commercial ascendancy, so unrivalled, is her chief idol and her distinguished glory. That ascendancy has recently been more than questioned, and is destined in the present run of events, to be taken away by another. What temptation so strong as to wish that aspiring rival from the lists, and shorn of its wings?[32] Such a feeling is this day stronger in Great Britain than any mere abstract devotion to popular rights. A

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[30] The traditional sympathy of the American people for liberty and nationalism in Europe was certainly "intensified by the presence of tens of thousands of recently arrived Irish and German immigrants . . . during the forties and many of whom had but recently cringed under the lash of despotism." Bailey, *Diplomatic History,* 284-85.

[31] In part, this attitude explains why Brown later embraced the anti-foreign and anti-immigrant tenets of the nationalistic "Know-Nothing" party. On his activities in the "Know-Nothing" party during the seven years after his return from Russia, see references in Sister Mary de Lourdes Gohmann, *Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1938), 109-61; W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1950), 107-11, 128-30, 268.

[32] Brown was not merely reflecting the fashionable anti-English prejudices of his countrymen. He was well aware of the fact that in spite of the British government's satisfaction with the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, the opposition of the expansive "Young America" nationalists to the treaty and Anglo-American rivalry in Central America irritated the English and inspired the feeling that the United States should be "put in its place." Richard W. Van Alstyne, "British Diplomacy and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1850-60," *Journal of Modern History* (Chicago), XI (1939), 165-68; see also his "Anglo-American Relations, 1853-1857," *American Historical Review,* XLII (1937), 493-94.

union of the two countries in the cause of liberty may do to talk upon the hustings, but such sentiment has no sympathy in the cabinets and councils of that great nation . . . .[33]

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your obedient Servant
s/Neill S. Brown

To the Hon
Daniel Webster

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[33] It was not difficult for Governor Brown to surmise that with the replacement of the Whig ministry (which had been so sympathetic to the revolutionary movements on the continent) by the Tories under Lord Derby in early 1852, "Reaction seemed to have triumphed . . ." in England as well as Central and Eastern Europe. Taylor, *Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, 46.

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1956

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

Alderson, William T., ed. The Civil War diary of Captain James Litton Cooper, September 30, 1861, to January, 1865. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '56. v. 15: 141-73.)

Alexander, Thomas B. Thomas A. R. Nelson of East Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee hist. com., 1956. x, 186 p. $3.00.

Alexander, Thomas B. Thomas A. R. Nelson as an example of Whig conservatism in Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 17-29.)

Armistead, George H., Jr. The void provision of a president's will. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '56. v. 15: 136-40.)

Bacon, H. Phillip. Nashville's trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 30-36.)

Bacon, H. Phillip. Some problems of adjustment to Nashville's site and situation, 1780-1860. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '56. v. 15: 322-29.)

Bales, Clarence. The author of "Little Lord Fauntleroy." (So. Observer. June, '56. v. 4: 165-66.)

Barbee, David Rankin. Andrew Jackson and Peggy O'Neale. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 37-52.)

Bellamy, James W. The political career of Landon Carter Haynes. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 102-26.)

Boom, Aaron M. Early fairs in Shelby county. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 10: 38-52.)

Bryan, Paul M. and Baer, Isadore B. General sessions courts: origin and recent legislation. (Tenn. law rev. Fall, '56. v. 24: 667-88.)

Burt, Jesse C. Sherman's logistics and Andrew Johnson. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '56. v. 15: 195-215.)

Cassell, Robert. Newton Cannon and state politics, 1835-1839. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '56. v. 15: 306-21.)

Cassell, Robert. Newton Cannon and the constitutional convention of 1834. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '56. v. 15: 224-42.)

Chambers, William Nesbitt. Old Bullion Benton, senator from the new West. Boston, Atlantic-Little, Brown. xvi, 517 p. $6.00.

Clack, Tommie. Dr. James Cozby. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. July, '56. v. 2, no. 3: 3-4.)

Clark, Thomas D., ed. Travels in the old South, a bibliography. Norman, Univ. of Okla. press, 1956. 2 v. xx, 330; xvi, 292. $20.00.

Corbitt, D. C. and Roberta, eds. Papers from the Spanish archives relating to Tennessee and the old Southwest, XX, Sept.-Dec., 1792. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 127-45.)

Corlew, Robert E. A history of Dickson county, from earliest times to the present. Dickson, Dickson co. hist. soc. and Tenn. hist. com., 1956. 243 p. $5.75.

Crabb, Alfred Leland. The twilight of the Nashville Gods. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '56. v. 15: 291-305.)

Creekmore, Pollyanna, comp. Early East Tennessee taxpayers. V. Jefferson county, 1800. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 146-64.)

Creekmore, Pollyanna, ed. Grainger county, Tennessee, federal census of 1810, population schedule and county tax lists for 1810. Knoxville, McClung his. col., Special studies, no. 1, Lawson McGhee Library, 1956. vi, 71 p. $3.50.

Creekmore, Pollyanna, comp. Writings on Tennessee history, 1955. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 165-70.)

Crowe, Jesse Crawford. The origin and development of Tennessee's prison problem, 1831-1871. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '56. v. 15: 111-135.)

Deaderick, Barron. Civil War campaigns in Tennessee. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 10: 53-77.)

Doherty, Herbert J., Jr., ed. Andrew Jackson on manhood suffrage: 1822. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 57-60.)

Dorsey, Jean Muir. Joshua Gist; Captain Benjamin Gist. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. Oct., '56. v. 2: 50-52.)

Donald, David. Why they impeached Andrew Johnson. (Amer. heritage. Dec. '56.)

Draughon, Wallace R. North Carolina genealogical reference, a research guide. Durham, N. C., 1956.

Durand, Loyal. Mountain moonshining in East Tennessee. (Geographical review. April '56. v. 46: 168-81.)

Dykeman, Wilma (Mrs. James Stokely). Only the voters like him. (Nation. April 21, 1956. p. 334-36.)

Dykeman, Wilma. Smoky Mountain magic. (Reader's Digest, Oct. '56. p. 170-71.)

Dykeman, Wilma, and Stokely, James. Courage in action in Clinton, Tennessee. (Nation. Dec. 22, 1956, p. 531-33.)

Fink, Paul M. That's why they call it . . . The names and lore of the Great Smokies. Jonesboro, Tenn., The author, c1956, 20 p.

Folmsbee, Stanley J. and Catron, Anna Grace. The early career of David Crockett. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 58-85.)

Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. An early account of the Cherokees. (Chron. of Okla. Summer '56. v. 34, no. 2: 141-58.)

Franklin, John Hope. The militant South. Cambridge, Harvard univ. press, 1956. xiv, 317 p. $5.00.

Goodrich, Carter. Public aid to railroads in the reconstruction South. (Pol. sci. qr., Sept. '56.)

Govan, Gilbert E. and Livingood, J. W. A different valor: the story of General Joseph E. Johnston, C.S.A. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1956. 470 p. $6.00.

Graham, Jane Kirkland. Viola, the duchess of New Dorp, a biography of Viola Roseboro. Danville, Va., Illinois printing co., 1955. 319 p. $8.50.

Great churches: First Baptist [Clinton, Tenn.] (Newsweek. Jan. 28, 1957, p. 92.)

Green, Fletcher M. Resurgent southern sectionalism. (N.C. hist. rev., Apr. '56.)

Griffin, Clarence W. History and progress of the Western North Carolina Historical Association. (North Carolina hist. rev. Apr. '56. v. 33, no. 2: 202-12.)

Harder, Kelsie B. Home remedies in Perry county, Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. Dec. '56. v. 22: 97-98.)

Harkness, David, Jr. The Civil War in fiction and drama. (So. Observer. July, '56. v. 4: 187-90.)

Henry, Robert Selph, ed. As they saw Forrest. Jackson, Tenn., The McCowat-Mercer press, 1956, xvi, 306 p. $5.00.

Herron, W. W. A history of Lambuth College. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 10: 20-37.)

Hoffman, William S. The downfall of the Democrats: the reaction of North Carolinians to Jacksonian land policy. (N. C. hist. rev. Apr. '56.)

Hope, Eleanor. The story of Casey Jones. (Tenn. conser. May '56. v. 22: 3, 10-11.)

Horn, Stanley F. The decisive battle of Nashville. Baton Rouge, Louisiana state univ. press, 1956. xiii, 181 p. $3.00.

Joyce, Eugene L. Private acts of Anderson County. Oak Ridge, Tenn., Anderson county, 1956. 81 p.

Kirkham, E. Kay. Research in American genealogy. Salt Lake City, Utah Deseret news press, 1956. 447 p. [Includes some data on Tenn.]

Kirwan, A. D., ed. Johnny Green of the orphan brigade: the journal of a Confederate soldier. Lexington, Univ. of Ky. press, 1956, xxviii, 217 p. $3.50.

Knight, Oliver. History of the Cherokees, 1830-1846. (Chron. of Okla. Summer '56. v. 34, no. 2: 159-82.)

Krechniak, Helen Bullard. Tabor family noted as stout chair makers over 150 years. (Tenn. conser. July '56. v. 22: 14-15.)

Krechniak, Helen Bullard and Joseph Marshall. Cumberland county's first hundred years. Crossville, Tenn., Centennial com., 1956. ix, 377 p.

Laycock, George. Death of a lake. Field and stream. Mar., 1956, p. 70-71. (Reelfoot Lake).

Lively, Robert A. Fiction fights the Civil War: an unfinished chapter in the literary history of the American people. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press. x, 230 p. $5.00.

Longaker, Richard P. Andrew Jackson and the judiciary. (Pol. sci. qr. Sept. '56.)

Loving, Robert S. Double destiny: the story of Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia. Bristol, King printing co., 1955. viii, 232 p.

Luckett, William W. Bedford Forrest in the battle of Brice's Cross Roads. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '56. v. 15: 99-110.)

McBride, John. A Tennessee lad on trial in Paris in 1817. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '56. v. 15: 269-74.)

McDaniel, Rev. Harold W. History of Forestdale Evangelical United Brethren church. Knoxville, Forestdale E.U.B. church, 1956. 140 p.

McMahon, Blanche, and Creekmore, Pollyanna, trans. Sevier county, Tennessee: population schedule of the United States census of 1830 (Fifth census) for Sevier county, Tennessee. Knoxville, Privately printed, 1956. 61 p. $5.00.

McNiell, Sarah Brown. Andrew Jackson and Texas affairs, 1820-1845. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 86-101.)

Malone, Henry T. Cherokees of the old South: a people in transition. Athens, Ga., Univ. of Ga. press, 1956. xiv, 238 p. $4.50.

Malone, Henry T. Return Jonathan Meigs—Indian agent extraordinary. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 3-22.)

Mayfield, George R. Museum for children [Nashville]. (Tenn. conser. June '56. v. 22: 4-5.)

Miles, Guy S. David Crockett evolves. (Amer. qr. Spring '56. v. 8:53-60.)

Miller, William D. The progressive movement in Memphis. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 3-16.)

Montgomery, James R. The nomenclature of the upper Tennessee river. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 46-57.)

Moore, Mrs. John Trotwood, comp. Record of commissions of officers in the Tennessee militia, 1815. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '56. v. 15: 339-55.)

Muir, Andrew Forest, ed., William P. Johnson, southern proletarian and unionist. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '56. v. 15: 330-38.)

Mystery mountain. (Travel. May, 1955, p. 28.)

Nicholls, W. W. Some foundations of economic development in the upper East Tennessee valley, 1850-1900. (Jour. of political economy. Aug.-Oct. '56. v. 64: 277-302, 400-15.)

O'Neill, Charles K. Wild train: the story of the Andrews raiders. New York, Random house, 1956. 482 p. $6.00.

Orr, Mary T. John Overton and Traveler's Rest. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '56. v. 15: 216-23.)

Park, Foster. The early literature of East Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 28: 23-45.)

Partin, Robert. A Confederate sergeant's report to his wife during the bombardment of Fort Pillow. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '56. v. 15: 243-52.)

Posey, Walter B., ed. Bishop Asbury visits Tennessee, 1788-1815: extracts from his journal. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '56. v. 15: 253-68.)

Pratt, Fletcher. Civil War in pictures. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1955. 256 p. $10.00.

Pratt, Fletcher. Civil war on western waters. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1956. 255 p. $3.50.

Price, Prentiss. John Haile, Esq. (and Joab Mitchell). (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. July, '56. v. 2, no. 3: 4-5.)

Rogers, Samuel J. European boar thrive in East Tennessee mountains. (Tenn. conser. June '56. v. 22:8-9.)

Rose, Kenneth. The story of a music collection. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '56. v. 15: 356-63.)

Rubin, Louis D., Jr. The historical image of modern southern writing. (Jour. so. hist., May '56. v. 22: 147-66.)

Rutledge, Rosa D. The Rutledge honorary history club (1929-1956). Union university, Jackson, Tennessee. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 10: 100-101.)

Shackford, James Atkins. David Crockett: the man and the legend. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1956, xiv, 338 p. $6.00.

Shaub, Earl L. Natchez trace will be a super luxury highway. (Tenn. conser. Mar. '56. v. 22: 6-8.)

Shaub, Earl L. Parthenon in Nashville. (Tenn. conser. Oct. '56. v. 22: 4-6.)

Shaub, Earl L. State museum one of the most interesting in the southland. (Tenn. conser. Sept. '56. v. 22: 10-11.)

Shaub, Earl L. Thrilling history back of mansion at Tellico Plains. (Tenn. conser. May '56. v. 22: 16-17.)

Shelby, Cass Knight. Shelby family cemetery at "Travellers Rest" Lincoln county, Kentucky. (Filson club hist. qr. Jan. '56. v. 30: 31-44.)

Stampp, Kenneth M. The peculiar institution: slavery in the ante-bellum South. New York, Knopf. x, 436, xii p. $5.75.

Stathis, John Chris. The establishment of the West Tennessee state normal school, 1909-1914. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 10: 78-99.)

Thornborough, Laura. The Great Smoky mountains. Revised and enlarged. Knoxville, The Univ. of Tenn. press, 1956. xi, 180 p. $3.00.

Torrence, Robert M., in collaboration with Robert L. Whittenburg. Colonel "Davy" Crockett. Washington, D. C., Privately printed, 1956. viii, 23 p. $3.00.

Townsend, Mahlon L. Fixtures in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Feb. '56. v. 24: 372-82.)

Trowbridge, John T. The desolate South, 1865-1866. Ed. by Gordon Carroll. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1956. xiv, 320 p. $6.00.

Wall, Joseph Frazier. Henry Watterson: reconstructed rebel. With an introduction by Alben W. Barkley. New York, Oxford univ. press, 1956. xvi, 362 p. $6.00.

Webb, James S. Feudal tenure in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Feb. '56. v. 24: 350-62.)

White, Robert H. "The Volunteer State." (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 53-56.)

Wiley, Bell I. The road to Appomattox. Memphis, Memphis state col. press. 121 p. $4.00.

Wiley, Bell I. A time of greatness. (Jour. of so. hist., Feb. '56. v. 22: 3-35.)

Will of Isaac Shelby, Sr., first governor of Kentucky. (Filson club hist. qr. Jan. '56. v. 3: 37-44.)

Williams, Frank B., Jr. Tennessee schools and the sales tax. (So. Observer. Nov. '56. v. 4: 291-301.)

Williams, Virginia. History of Duffield Academy. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. Feb. '56. v. 2, no. 1: 5-6.)

Williamson, J. C., ed. The Civil War diary of John Coffee Williamson. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '56. v. 15: 61-74.)

Wilson, Marshall A. Joseph Wilson—magistrate-captain. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. Apr. '56. v. 2, no. 2: 5-6.)

Wingfield, Marshall, and Whittington, Earle F., eds. Joshua C. Fleetwood's diary made during a journey on horseback from North Carolina to Fayette county, Tennessee, in 1850. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 10: 5-19.)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1956

East Tennessee State College

Bloomer, Faye Trolson. The legislative career of John Blair.

Crouch, Billy Joe. Judge Samuel Cole Williams—businessman, lawyer-jurist, dean and historian.

Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial University

Adair, Thomas Jackson. Bishop Isaac Lane: A portrait, 1834-1914.

University of Tennessee

Baskin, Eugene Haskell. The geography of Binfield community [Blount county].

Brown, Charles K. An acid-etching study of the Mascot member of the Knox dolomite at Thorn Hill and Lee valley, Tennessee.

Bumgarner, James Gerald. Stratigraphy and structure of the Knox dolomite in the Fair Garden area, Sevier and Jefferson counties, Tennessee.

Bynon, John Stevenson. A study of the pay practices of fifty-four public owned and operated electric power distribution systems in the Tennessee valley area.

Campbell, Carl Edward. The Knoxville Walt Whitman fellowship.

Causey, Earl Marion. The Chickamauga rocks of a portion of Raccoon valley, western Knox county, Tennessee.

Collins, Stephen Edward. Some observed textural and petrographic variations in the basal Knox sandstone in East Tennessee.

Cross, Shirley Faye. The history, development, and results of the Rugby settlement as a phase of the English course at Oneida high school.

Donehoo, Charles Frederick. The Knoxville community chest, 1922-1935.

Elder, Ben Frank. The geology of the area along the Cumberland escarpment between Elverton and Oliver Springs, Roane county, Tennessee.

Goldheber, Martin M. The Chickamauga rocks of the Beaver Valley belt from Halls Crossroads, Knox county, to the Union county line, Tennessee.

Jackson, Paul Reece. The geology of the southern portion of Dutch valley, Anderson county, Tennessee.

Lester, Frank Allen. A study of the supernatural and the symbolic in the works of Tennessee Williams.

Lineberger, Ralph D. Stratigraphy of the Chickamauga group in the Knoxville belt, Loudon county, Tennessee.

Lyle, Charlotte Gulden. Vegetation of the Nolichucky river gorge.

McClary, Nancy Lee. The history and development—Knoxville Board of Education nursery schools.

Maclay, Robert Weaver. The ground-water hydrology of the Elizabethton and Johnson City, Tennessee, area.

Maloney, Forrest B. The rural land-use of Washington county, Tennessee.

Mincy, Homer F. A study of the effort and ability of Loudon county, Tennessee, to support a program of public education.

Montgomery, James Riley. The University of Tennessee during the administration of President Brown Ayres, 1904-1919.

Oakley, Ouida Zane. A study of the organization of the Nashville-Davidson county alcoholism consultation center.

Ogden, William H. Some statistical aspects of county forest inventorying in the Tennessee valley.

Rakestraw, Isaac Knox. Negro education in Cocke county.

Robinson, Franklin Delano. An ecological survey of the vascular aquatic vegetation of the Cumberland plateau in Tennessee.

Shoemaker, Marley. The school as a social institution in the Clinchland community.

Smelcer, Buna. A study of financing a program of education in Sevier county. Tennessee.

Tiedemann, Herbert Allen. The geology of the Postoak window, Roane county. Tennessee.

Underwood, Burl H. Legislation affecting Knox county (Tennessee) schools from 1905-1955.

Webb, George Willis. The resources of the Cumberland Plateau as exemplified by Cumberland county, Tennessee: a geographic analysis.

Wells, James Ray. The Coffeoideae of Tennessee.

Wolfe, James Alvis. Vegetation studies in Hawkins county, Tennessee.

Wright, Howard Hyder. A short history of the mental hospitals in Tennessee.

UNPUBLISHED Ph.D. THESIS, *University of Tennessee.*

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

The Decisive Battle of Nashville. By Stanley F. Horn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. Pp. xiii, 181. Illustrations, maps, footnotes. $3.00.)

"*The Decisive Battle of Nashville* develops and supports the theory that the ensuing battle, fought on December 15-16, 1864, was *the* decisive battle of the Civil War. The bulk of the text, however, is devoted to a detailed 'blow by blow' account of the two-days battle, employing the points of view of both Union and Confederate commanders and soldiers who took part in the fighting.

"The Battle of Nashville was so finally decisive that no battle of importance was fought afterwards. Indeed, had the Confederates taken Nashville, Sherman would have been helpless to stop Hood from marching on to the Ohio River, to the relief of Lee, or wherever he wanted to go. The war-weary North might well have acceded to the growing demands of the peace party, who wanted to end the war on the basis of Southern independence.

"But Hood was defeated in this decisive battle; Sherman continued his march on into the Carolinas, dividing the South, and the war came to a close within four months.

"A timely and helpful feature of this book is that it identifies the landmarks of the battlefield in terms of present-day streets, roads and homes, making it a handy guide for those interested in determining the exact locations of the battle lines." (Jacket.)

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, Vol. IV, 1845-1857. Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957. Pp. x, 741. Illustrations, footnotes, appendix, index. $4.00.)

"The twelve-year period from 1845 to 1857 witnessed a continuation of 'the golden age' of Tennessee history. Internal Improvements advanced from a relatively paper status to one of real accomplishment. The construction of railroads and turnpikes as well as the improvement of river channels greatly improved transportation systems and opened up means for the marketing of products from farm, forest, and mine.

"The two-party system was really in vogue. In five gubernatorial contests the average majority of the successful candidates was a mere handful of 2,021 votes. Andrew Johnson was the only Governor who was able to succeed himself as Chief Executive. It was an era of interesting and intense movements in the social, political, and economic life of Tennessee, and embraced stirring events of importance and value to the present and future citizenry of the State." (Preview.)

The University of Tennessee Builds for the Twentieth Century: A History of the University of Tennessee during the Administration of President Brown Ayres, 1904-1919. By James R. Montgomery. (Knoxville: University of Ten-

nessee *Record,* Vol. 60, No. 4, July, 1957. Pp. 97. Frontispiece, footnotes, bibliography, index. Free on request.)

"The administration of Brown Ayres (1904-1919) as president of The University of Tennessee was an especially outstanding one. His predecessor, Charles W. Dabney (1887-1904), had inaugurated a new era in the history of the University, beginning a program of modernization, and President Ayres carried the program forward to even greater achievements.

"The most notable accomplishment of President Ayres, as Mr. Montgomery has brought out in this study, was in making the institution a State university in fact as well as in name. It is diffcult for the present generation, familiar with the millions of dollars appropriated every two years by the legislature in support of the University, to comprehend the fact that prior to the beginning of the twentieth century this institution had not received one dollar from the treasury of the State of Tennessee. This is true in spite of the fact that its history goes back to the end of the eighteenth century, when it was chartered as Blount College in 1794, and even though it has been known officially as The University of Tennessee since 1879. . . .

"The author has shown commendable skill and industry in searching out and using various sources of information. He has examined the minutes of the Board of Trustees and of the Faculty and other records of the University. He has interviewed many people, including President Emeritus James D. Hoskins and the late Philander P. Claxton, both of whom were important figures of the Ayres administration. He has also examined the private papers of Dr. Claxton and of others and searched newspaper files for pertinent data. His coverage of the Ayres administration is wide. Included is an interesting chapter on campus life." (Foreword.)

Commission Book of Governor John Sevier, 1796-1801. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957. Pp. iv, 68. Index.)

"This publication follows *verbatim the original book* containing entries of the initial Commissions issued by John Sevier, the first Governor of Tennessee." (Preface.)

Lauderdale County from Earliest Times. Edited by Kate Johnston Peters. (Ripley, Tenn.: Sugar Hill Lauderdale County Library, 1957. Pp. xii, 377. Maps, illustrations, appendices, index. $6.50.)

This work is described on the title page as an "intimate and informal account of the towns and communities, its families and famous individuals written by descendants of its pioneer citizens." The appendices include copies of several old letters and an account of the Partee family.

Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition. By Henry Thompson Malone. (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1956. Pp. xiii, 238. Maps, illustrations, bibliographical note, index. $4.50.)

"The tragic history of the Cherokee people has been extensively written about, but the emphasis has been on the political aspects. When the Cherokees were forcibly ejected from their Southern Appalachian homelands during the 1830's, they had attained a high state of civilization. Herein is the story of their social transformation which resulted in an odd culture, a red-white amalgam, during the early nineteenth century.

"The author discusses the work of the missionaries, changes in social customs, government, education, language, and the newspaper *The Cherokee*

Phoenix. He shows the remarkable development of the Cherokee Indians from a basically primitive social structure to a standard of living similar to that of their white neighbors." (Jacket.)

The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789. By John Richard Alden. Vol. III of *A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1957. Pp. xv, 442. Maps, illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $7.50.)

"The South of the Revolutionary epoch was not geographically the South of 1860 or of 1920, and but little is said in the following pages about that part of the later South which lies west of the Mississippi. In the days of the Revolution the Americans had not sunk root beyond the great river, were just then planting the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. In consequence, emphasis has been placed upon the development of that part of the modern South between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, and above all upon the history of the people of the old colony-states on the seaboard from Maryland to Georgia. Here there are four subjects which have demanded much attention: the role of the Southerners (not yet generally called by that name) in the struggle for independence; the rise of sectional controversy between North and South, which is as old as the nation; the internal reformation below the Mason-Dixon line that proceeded from the contest with Britain; and the part taken by the South in the making of the Federal union formed at the end of the Revolutionary time. . . ." (Author's preface.)

General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. Pp. xvi, 350. Illustrations, maps, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $6.00.)

"In this brilliant study based on much new material and a complete reexamination of all original sources, Warren W. Hassler penetrates the fog of misunderstanding that has surrounded McClellan's motives for so many years and restores him to his just status as a great general. Here at last is the real McClellan in true focus." (Jacket.)

The work has very little connection with Tennessee history except that there were some Tennessee Unionists fighting under McClellan's command.

Still Rebels, Still Yankees and Other Essays. By Donald Davidson; Wood engraving by Theresa Sherrer Davidson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. Pp. x, 284. Acknowledgments, index. $4.50.)

"The general theme that binds the essays—no matter what their specific subjects—is the conflict between tradition and anti-tradition that characterizes modern society, with tradition viewed as the living continuum that makes society and civilization possible and anti-tradition as the disintegrative principle that destroys society and civilization in the name of science and progress. The isolated role of the poet in modern society is symptomatic of its disease, and I am concerned with that phenomenon; but I am no less concerned with the extraordinary misjudgments that literary critics make when blinded by the vices of romantic progressivism and the false standards of social science. The condition of the folk arts naturally comes into the reckoning as does the question of their right relation to the 'high' arts.

"The South, which has suffered most in its devoted defense of tradition,

naturally offers me examples for consideration; but this is not a book about the South as such. It is as near as I can come, in essay form, to defining what I would conceive to be the true American position." (Jacket.)

Parson Clapp of the Strangers' Church of New Orleans. Edited by John Duffy. No. 7 of Louisiana State University *Studies,* ed. by Richard J. Russell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 191. Illustrations, notes, index. $5.00.)

This work is largely a reprinting with notes of the *Autobiographical Sketches and Recollections, During a Thirty-five Years' Residence in New Orleans,* by Theodore Clapp, originally published in Boston in 1858. It is prefaced by a 48-page biography of Parson Clapp prepared by the editor.

Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims. Vol. I. *Abstracted from Applications by Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon.* (Portland: Genealogical Forum, 1957. Pp. 152. Maps, index. $6.50.)

The book should be of interest to genealogists because of the family data contained, and to historians everywhere because of proof of Oregon settlers and their paths of migration. A survey of the records show that at least 45% of the settlers were not born in the same state as the one in which they were married. All states existing in 1853 are represented in the list from which Oregon settlers emigrated with the greatest number coming from Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Vermont." (Circular.)

"We Cousins" (Virginia to Texas). Vol. I. Compiled by Florence Sutherland Hudson. (San Benito, Tex.: Florence S. Hudson, 1957. Pp. 160.)

This is a "genealogy of several of the families comprising the Alabama settlement of Austin's Colony 1830 and 1831—now Texas, and including other Virginia lines of the Sutherland family."

Baron Hirsch Congregation: From Ur to Memphis. By Sam Shankman. (Memphis: Baron Hirsch Synagogue, 1957. Pp. 153. Illustrations.)

"The history of Baron Hirsch Congregation is not an isolated story. It is a part of world history, and it unfolds itself in great historic events, of wars, revolutions, persecutions and new discoveries. It is a part of World Jewish History, because it was created by the homeless wanderers of many lands who sought a place of refuge and peace." (Foreword.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1956

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. On Saturday, January the 7th, the Society held an anniversary dinner at the S & W Cafeteria in Knoxville at 7:30 P.M. Mrs. E. L. Bowman presided. About 100 members and guests were present including many out-of-town residents. Among those present were Mrs. L. W. McCown of Johnson City and Miss Zella Armstrong of Chattanooga, members of the Tennessee Historical Commission, and Mrs. Samuel Cole Williams, of Johnson City.

Dr. James D. Hoskins, first president of the Society, gave the invocation. Miss Mary U. Rothrock, charter member, past president, and member of the Tennessee Historical Commission, gave a very informative talk on "The Founding of the East Tennessee Historical Society." Mrs. Marguerite B. Hamer, a charter member and past president, gave a delightful talk on "Judge Samuel Cole Williams: His Work and Contributions." Mr. Harvey Broome, a long-time member and past president, told about the Society's *The French Broad-Holston Country: a History of Knox County.*

Other charter members present were Miss Laura Luttrell, Mr. J. Osborn Andes, Mrs. Herman Schenk, Jr. We were especially pleased to have Mrs. C. M. McClung present. Mrs. McClung is the donor of the McClung Award and one of the founders of the McClung Collection.

Dr. S. J. Folmsbee, Editor, announced that *Publications* No. 27 would be distributed before the end of the month.

It was announced that Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely of Newport, member of the Society's Executive Committee, had recently been awarded the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy by the Western North Carolina Historical Association for the best book written on the history of that region.

After several informal reminiscences, the meeting was adjourned.

FEBRUARY. "The Public Career of David Crockett," by Anna Grace Catron, of Morristown.

MARCH. "Cades Cove of Yesteryears," by Henry Rankin Duncan, of Knoxville.

APRIL. "Professional Athletics in Knoxville During the 1920's," by Boyd Litzinger, graduate student, University of Tennessee.

MAY. The Society held its annual spring meeting in Gatlinburg on Saturday, May 5. The Committee on Local Arrangements, consisting of Mrs. Matt Whittle, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Maples, Mrs. Edna L. Simms, arranged a full and varied program for the afternoon and evening. Registration was held at the New Gatlinburg Inn which served as headquarters. Members serving on the Reception Committee were Miss Harriet Greve, Mrs. H. A. Gervin, and Miss Helen M. Harris. Attractive programs were provided by Mr. William C. Postlewaite.

At 2:30 P.M. a tour of local sites in and around Gatlinburg began. Among the places visited were: 1. Homespun Valley, where the owner and operator, Mr. William C. Postlewaite was our host; 2. Great Smoky Mountains National

Park Headquarters, with Mr. Edward A. Hummel, Superintendent, host; 3. Hunter Hills Theater (under construction); 4. Cove Handicrafters. Members of the Tour Committee were: J. A. Sharp, I. N. Carr, and William C. Postlewaite.

At 6:30 P.M. a dinner was held in the Dining Room of the New Gatlinburg Inn with Mrs. E. L. Bowman, presiding. The invocation was given by the Reverend Spurgeon McCart. Mrs. Henry W. Lix gave the welcome, with Mrs. Marguerite B. Hamer responding. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, North Carolina, president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, brought greetings from his Association. Miss Zella Armstrong, a member of the Tennessee Historical Commission, made a few remarks.

Mr. William C. Postlewaite, editor and publisher of the Gatlinburg and Sevierville weekly newspapers, introduced the speaker, Mr. Kermit Hunter, author and playright. Mr. Hunter spoke about his new outdoor drama, "Chucky Jack," which was scheduled to open in Gatlinburg on June 22.

JUNE. "Cherokee Archæology on the Little Tennessee River," by Madeline Kneberg, Professor of Anthropology, University of Tennessee.

OCTOBER. Dr. Thomas B. Alexander, Professor of History at Georgia Teachers' College, Collegeboro, Georgia, addressed the Society at its meeting held in the auditorium of Lawson McGhee Library on Saturday evening, October 6.

"Is Civil War History Polarized?", the subject of Dr. Alexander's address, had been suggested by the career of Thomas A. R. Nelson whose biography, written by Dr. Alexander, was recently published by the Tennessee Historical Commission.

Following Dr. Alexander's address, officers of the Society held an informal reception for Dr. Alexander and members and friends of the Society.

NOVEMBER. "New Providence Church: the First Hundred Years," by Edwin J. Best of Maryville.

DECEMBER. "Raymond Demere, the Builder of Fort Loudoun," by Elsworth Brown, of Chattanooga; "The Rediscovery of the Northwest Passage from South Carolina into the Tennessee Country," by Paul Brown, of Chattanooga.

At this meeting the following officers were elected for the year 1957: president: Dean I. N. Carr, Carson-Newman College; vice-presidents: Knoxville area: Mrs. Henry R. Duncan, Knoxville; Upper East Tennessee: W. F. Rogers, East Tennessee State College; Lower East Tennessee: Cartter Patten, Chattanooga; secretary: Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer: Martha Ellison, Lawson McGhee Library; members of the executive committee: Mrs. E. L. Bowman, Knoxville; Paul Kelley, Knoxville; James Burn, Niota; Prentiss Price, Rogersville; Laura Luttrell, Knoxville. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications*. Dan M. Robison, Tennessee State Library, and Joseph H. Parks, Birmingham-Southern College, were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's annual *Publications*, was awarded for the year 1956 to Henry T. Malone for his "Return Jonathan

Meigs: Indian Agent Extraordinary." The judges were Norman A. Graebner, University of Illinois; Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina; and H. Clay Reed, University of Delaware.

In October, 1956, the East Tennessee Historical Society inaugurated, in connection with *Echoes,* a project of preparing a genealogical and historical directory for East Tennessee.

During the year 1956 the Fort Loudoun Association, under the superintendency of Paul Kelley, made considerable progress in the restoration of this fort, aroused public interest through the publication of a news letter and appeals for funds for the matching of the state appropriation, and making plans for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the completion of the fort in July, 1757. The East Tennessee Historical Society lent its assistance in numerous ways, especially in the efforts to obtain a release of the state-appropriated funds.

The Lawson McGhee Library and the Tennessee State Library and Archives embarked on a cooperative program of microfilming old books and other historical records.

At the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Durham, N. C., November 15-17, 1956, Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, a member of the executive committee of the East Tennessee Historical Society, read a paper on "Southern Demagogues." Other members of the East Tennessee Historical Society participating in the program were LeRoy P. Graf, Thomas B. Alexander, and Philip M. Hamer; and Joseph H. Parks of Birmingham-Southern College, a member of our board of editors, received the first Charles S. Sydnor Award for the best book on Southern history published during the preceding two years. He received the award for his *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* At this meeting a native Tennessean, Robert S. Henry, Washington, D. C., was elected president, and another native Tennessean, Walter B. Posey of Agnes Scott College, vice-president. Stanley J. Folmsbee, managing editor of our *Publications,* was designated as program chairman for the 1957 meeting to be held in Houston, Texas.

On June 3, 1956, the Polk County Historical Association and several DAR chapters placed memorial wreaths at the grave of Nancy Ward, "beloved woman" of the Cherokees. Miss Zella Armstrong addressed a dinner meeting which followed the program.

At the annual dinner meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society on May 8, 1956, at Traveler's Rest, Burton Jones of Chattanooga was elected vice-president for East Tennessee.

The Tennessee State Library and Archives has acquired the personal papers and library of Judge Walter W. Faw, who died at Franklin on May 18, 1956. He served on the Court of Appeals from 1918 to 1940.

James W. Livingood, president of the Chattanooga Area Historical Association, has announced that the association will sponsor an award to the outstanding student in American history, to be presented in alternate years to the University of Chattanooga and the University of the South. The first award, including a check for $100, was granted in 1956 to David Nelson of the University of Chattanooga.

President David A. Lockmiller of the University of Chattanooga has announced a grant to the University of $10,000 from the Lily Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis, in support of a special collection of materials on the Civil War.

On April 30, 1956, formal opening ceremonies were held in Jackson, Tennessee, for the Casey Jones Home and Railroad Museum.

Campbell H. Brown resigned, June 30, 1956, as director of highway marking for the Tennessee Historical Commission. The placing of markers will be continued on a reduced scale by the Commission.

The fourth series of J. P. Young Lectures in American History was given on October 28-30, 1956, at Memphis State College by Professor T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University. His general topic was "Americans at War."

RESOLUTIONS

IN MEMORIAM
Isabel Hayes Williams
(Mrs. S. C. Williams)

Mrs. Samuel Cole Williams, for many years a faithful and valued member of the East Tennessee Historical Society, died at her home in Johnson City, Tennessee, on October 19, 1956, after an illness of several months. She was best known to members of the Society, perhaps, as the ever-interested, efficient and active associate of her late husband, Judge Williams, in his historical work, and as a frequent attendant with him at Society meetings. She was known also throughout the State, however, for her own great influence and leadership in civic, educational and patriotic causes.

It is an example of Mrs. Williams' devotion to historical matters that she attended the Society's 1956 annual banquet, and later in the same evening a meeting of Fort Loudoun Association Directors, even though she was suffering and under medical care at the time. Her death is a loss keenly felt by many who have been associated with her through the years, and particularly by this Society.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1st. That this memorial be recorded in the minutes of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

2nd. That an expression of the Society's deepest sympathy be conveyed by the Secretary to members of Mrs. Williams' family.

Respectfully submitted,

Mary U. Rothrock
W. Flinn Rogers
Laura E. Luttrell
Committee

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Mary U. Rothrock, Knoxville, Tennessee, is a charter member, a past president, and a member of the board of editors of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Thomas B. Alexander, chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, Georgia Teachers' College, is a visiting professor, 1957-58, at the University of Alabama.

Stanley J. Folmsbee, professor of history, University of Tennessee, is managing editor of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*.

Anna Grace Catron is a teacher in the Morristown, Tennessee, high school.

Harold S. Fink is associate professor of history, University of Tennessee.

Ernest Allen Connally is associate professor of architecture, University of Illinois.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Joseph O. Baylen is associate professor of history, Mississippi State College.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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University of the South, Sewanee
University of Washington
Washington University, St. Louis
West Virginia Dept. of Archives and History
Western Reserve Historical Society
William and Mary College
Wisconsin State Historical Society
Yale University

*INDEX

Abingdon, Va., 125
Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East, 41, 70
Adams, John Quincy, 44, 54
Afton, Tenn., 136
Alabama, 114
Alden, John Richard, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789,* noted, 181
Alexander, Adam, defeats David Crockett for Congress, 40-41; defeated, 43, 57-58
Alexander, Col. E. P., Confederate artillery commander, 84, 85, 89, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109
Alexander, Thomas B., "Is Civil War History Polarized? A Question Suggested by the Career of Thomas A. R. Nelson," 10-39
Anderson, G. T., Confederate officer at Fort Sanders, 105
"Andrew Johnson Homestead at Greeneville, Tennessee," by Ernest Allen Connally, 118-40
"Andrew Johnson National Monument," 119
Angell, Samuel P., 100
Appomattox, 83
Architecture, Greek Revival and other prevalent types of, 127, 127n, 128, 134
"Aristides" (see Overton, John)
Army of Northern Virginia, 82, 84
Army of Tennessee (Confederate), 82, 84, 87, 110
Army of the Cumberland, 80, 82, 86, 87, 116
Army of the Mississippi, 86
Army of the Ohio, 80, 86, 113, 114, 115, 116
Army of the Potomac, 81, 86, 87
Army of the Tennessee, 80, 81, 86, 87
Arnold, William, opposed Crockett in 1827, 43
Austria, attacks against by Kossuth, 163n; offended by American reception of Kossuth, 163, 164n, 165, 165n, 166n, 168, 168n, 169
Autobiography of David Crockett, 40, 40n, 42n, 45, 53, 58n, 64, 66n, 69, 70
Balch, Alfred, letter from Andrew Jackson, 74
Ballew, Bennett, 144, 144n, 145-48, 153
Bank of the United States, Second, and David Crockett, 68-69, 77
Baron Hirsch Congregation: From Ur to Memphis, by Sam Shankman, noted, 182
Bartlett, Mrs. Margaret Patterson, 120n, 121n, 122n, 131n, 132n, 133n, 134n, 137n, 138n
Bates, Edward, attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, 12; preferred Republican party, 16; wrote in favor of Lincoln, 17; advised a blockade of the Confederacy, 21; reaction to events of 1863, 30; supported Lincoln's re-nomination, criticized him, 31-32; retired from the Cabinet, 36; regretted death of Lincoln, 36
Baxter, John, Unionist, 36n
Baylen, Joseph O., ed., "Neill S. Brown and Russian Reaction to American Sympathy for the Hungarian Exiles, 1851-52: Some Documents," 161-71
Bean's Station, 115
Belgium, possible aggression against, 165n
Bell, John, supported by the *National Intelligencer,* 15; and by T. A. R. Nelson, 17; petitioned that vacant lands in Tennessee be used for benefit of University of Nashville, 47; 52; introduced a bill to appropriate money for removing Indians westward, 63; supports H. L. White for president, 73-74, 74n; 77
"Bell, Crockett and Co.," 74
Benjamin, Samuel N., Union officer in command of Fort Sanders, 103, 106, 107, 108, 109
Benton, Thomas Hart, letter to Mississippi convention parodied by Crockett, 75
Berlin, 169, 169n
Biddle, Nicholas, 69
"Black Hawk" (nickname of Adam Huntsman), 68
Blaine's Cross Roads, 112, 115, 116
Blair, John, 52, 61
Blair, Montgomery, 29, 30, 32
Bloodyfellow (Cherokee chief), 142, 142n, 147, 151-53; letter to Baron de Carondelet, 155-56
Blount County, 92
Blount, William, 142n; Piomingo's opinion of, 145; 146; wants meeting of Cherokee Nation, 150
Bolivar, Tenn., 58, 61n
Bonny Kate Chapter, D.A.R., 8
Boteler, J. W. & Bro., 136
Boukfauka (Bouckfuka), a Choctaw town, 142, 142n
Bowles, William Augustus, 157n
Bowman's Ferry (on French Broad), 100
Boyd's Ferry (Knoxville), 98
Bragg, Braxton, commander of the Confederate Army of Tennessee, 82; in central Tennessee, 84; at Chattanooga, and quarrel with Longstreet, 85; orders Longstreet to march upon Burnside, 87-

*Prepared by Alice Lynn Howell and Laura E. Luttrell. "Writings on Tennessee History," "Notes and News," "List of Members," not included in this Index.

88; complaints from Longstreet to, 89; Union plans for defeat of, 91, 94; defeat at Missionary Ridge, 97; intentions on destroying Burnside, 98-99; help from, expected by Longstreet, 101, 102, 106, 110, 111, 116, 117
Brannan, George, 123
Brannan, James, builder and early owner of Johnson Homestead, 120, 121, 122, 122n; life sketch of, 123, 123n
Brannan, Walter, 123n
Brannan, William, 120, 121, 122, 123
Brannan children, 123n
British Guiana, 139
Britton, James, 120, 121, 122
Brooks, John M., 99
Brooks, Joseph, Confederate general, 99
Brown, John, raid, Harper's Ferry, 13-14
Brown, John A., 121
Brown, Neill S., U. S. minister to Russia, 161; governor of Tennessee and Whig politician, 162; cautions U. S. against European "radicalism" and relates Russian attitude toward propagandists of free institutions, 164-67; writes of European emigration, 169-70; warns against dependence upon Great Britain, 170-71
Brownlow, William G., absent at siege of Knoxville, 1863, 95
Brown's Ferry (west of Chattanooga), 86
Bruin, Peter Bryan, 141, 141n
"Brulgrudery, Dennis," 58
Brumley property (Greeneville), 137
Bryan's Brigade, 105, 108
Buckner, R. C., 52, 53
Buckner, Simon Bolivar, Confederate general, in evacuation of upper Tennessee Valley, 82, 87; hears complaint from Longstreet, 89; brings help to Longstreet, 89, 98, 102, 103, 105
Bull Run, Burnside at, 81; Longstreet at, 83
Bull's Gap, 87
Bullitt, William C., 162
Burke, Edmund, 162
Burnside, Ambrose E., failures of, 80-81; military career, 81; occupied East Tennessee, 82, 84, 85; opposite Longstreet in Virginia, 83; preparation for defense of Knoxville area, 86-91, 94; skirmishes with Longstreet, 92-94; siege of Knoxville, 95-112; overconfidence of, 113; end of career in East Tennessee, 114, 116; comparison with Longstreet, 117
Burrage, H. S., Union officer, 104
Calhoun, John C., break with Jackson mentioned, 64
Camp Nelson (Ky.), 81, 86
Campbell's Station (Farragut), 88, 93; battle of, 94, 117
Cantrell, Abraham P., 49
Carey and Hart, publishers, 42n, 75
Carney, William, 151, 151n
Carondelet, Baron de, letters to, 141-42, 142-44, 144-46, 146-47, 147-49, 151-53, 154, 154-55, 155, 155-56, 156-58, 158-60; invitation to Villebeuvre, 149
Carroll, Governor William, 77
Carroll County, Tenn., 67
Carson-Newman College, 123
Carter, William B., Unionist, 36n
Carter County, 136
Catron, Anna Grace, and Stanley J. Folmsbee, "David Crockett: Congressman," 40-78
Central America, Anglo-American rivalry in, 170n
Charleston, Tenn., 112
Chase, Salmon P., 29
Chattanooga, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86, 87, 110, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117
Cherokee Heights (Knoxville), 99, 102, 104
Cherokee River (see Tennessee River)
Cherokees, 64, 142ff; criticized by Franchimastabé, 147
Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition, by Henry Thompson Malone, noted, 180
Chickamauga, battle of, 82, 85, 86, 88, 116
Chickasaw Bluffs, 146, 147, 153, 157
Chickasaws, 63, 141ff; character, 143; kill Creeks, 148; war dance, 148; 154, 157
Chilton, Thomas, writer of Crockett's *Autobiography,* 40n; Ky. congressman, 45; 66n, 69, 70
Choctaws, 141; receive corn, 143; parties of, 144, 144n, 146; marry Chickasaw women, 145; want merchandise (presents), 151, 152-57
Cincinnati Commercial, 131n
Civil War, 123, 128n, 129
Clark, James, 54, 54n
Clark, William, wrote Crockett's *Tour to the North,* 70
Clarke, Matthew St. Clair, author of *Life and Adventures of Colonel David Crockett,* 53n
Clay, Clement C., 64
Clay, Henry, 44, 61
Clayton, Augustin Smith, Georgia Congressman, wrote *The Life of Martin Van Buren, . . .* for David Crockett, 75, 75n
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 170n
Cleburne, Patrick, Confederate officer, 98, 102
Cochran, Gifford A., *Grandeur in Tennessee,* 127n
Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas, 42n
Colbert, George, 144, 144n
College Hill (University of Tennessee), 96
Commission Book of Governor John Sevier, 1796-1801, noted, 180
Compact of 1806, 46
Confederacy, 21; joined by Tennessee in 1861, 79; importance of East Tennessee to, 80; gloomy prospects, 83

Congressional land taken by holders of N. C. warrants, 46
Congressional Reservation, 46, 48, 49, 50, 59, 76, 78n
Connally, Ernest Allen, "The Andrew Johnson Homestead at Greeneville, Tennessee, 118-40; Architectural Survey Report, Andrew Johnson Homestead, 119n, 123n
Conservative Unionists (see Constitutional Unionists)
Constitutional Unionists (Old Line Whigs), 10-13, 26; attempts to restore peace, 38-39
Cooke, Jay and Company, 136
Corbitt, D. C. and Roberta, trs. and eds., "Papers from the Spanish Archives relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest," XXI, Jan.-Feb., 1793, 141-60
Craigmiles & Brown, 121
Craven, Avery O., quoted, 11
Creekmore, Pollyanna, 108n; comp., "Writings on Tennessee History, 1956," 172-78
Creeks, 141ff
Crittenden, John J., statesman, 13-14; compromise resolutions, 1861, 18-19, 22; opinion of Emancipation Proclamation, 27; opposed conscription, 29-30; death, 30
Crittenden, Thomas L., Union general, 82
Crockett, David, congressman, 40-78; in Gibson County, as a candidate for election to Congress in 1825, defeated by Adam Alexander, 40-41; lumber speculator, 42; elected to Congress, 1827, 43-44; a Jacksonian, 44-45; Tennessee "Vacant Land" bill, 45-47; wanted common schools to have revenue from "vacant lands," 47-48; added amendment to Polk's land bill which was tabled, 48; champion of squatters' rights, 47-49; member of jury to view and mark a road in Weakley County, 49; attempts to amend Polk's land bill, 50, 52; breaks with Jackson party, 53; re-elected to Congress, 1829, 52; feud with Pryor Lea, 55-57; attempts to amend Hemphill's road bill, 60-61; opposes Jackson's Indian policy, 63-64; petition for relief of three Cherokees, 64-65; defeated for re-election, 1831, by Wm. Fitzgerald, 65-66; in 1833 defeats Fitzgerald, 68; tour of the North and East, 69-71; promotes the candidacy of Hugh Lawson White for president, 74; defeated for re-election, 1835, by Adam Huntsman, 76-77; move to Texas, loss of life at the Alamo, 78
Crockett, John Wesley, 69, 78n
Culpepper, John, 52, 53
Cumberland Ave. (Knoxville), 97, 103
Cumberland College (see University of Nashville)
Cumberland Gap, surrender to Burnside, 82, 82n; 101, 112, 116
Cumberland Mountains, 79, 80, 82, 91
Cumberland River, 60
Cumberland settlement, 141-42, 150, 153, 160
Cushing, Caleb, 33
Dana, Charles A., 101
Daughters of the American Revolution, Bonny Kate Chapter, 8
"David Crockett: Congressman," by Stanley J. Folmsbee and Anna Grace Catron, 40-78
Davidson, Donald, *Still Rebels, Still Yankees and Other Essays,* noted, 181
Davis, Ben, 120n, 130n
Davis, Jefferson, mentioned, 11; president of the Confederacy, 84, 85, 87; relative of Col. William P. Sanders, 95; intentions on destroying Burnside, 98-99, 110
Deaderick, Lucile, head of the McClung Historical Collection, 6
Decherd (Tenn.), 112
Decisive Battle of Nashville, by Stanley F. Horn, noted, 179
Democrats, 16; East Tennessee, 23; Union, 27, 38, 44; southern, opposed to intervention in European uprisings, 167n; midwestern, favorable to intervention in Europe, 167n
Democratic party, in election of 1864, 32-38; and reconstruction, 38; and David Crockett, 40-78; in campaign of 1836, 73-75
Derby, Lord, 171
Dickson, John, 122n
Doughty, George W., Union officer, 100, 100n, 101
Doughty, Richard, 120n, 124n
Douglas, Stephen A., 16
"Downing, Jack" (see Smith, Seba)
Duffy, John, ed., *Parson Clapp of the Strangers' Church of New Orleans,* noted, 182
Dunlap, William C., 76
DuPont powder makers, gift to Crockett, 72
East Fifth Ave. (Knoxville), 98
"East Tennessee Campaign and the Battle of Knoxville in 1863," by Harold S. Fink, 79-117
East Tennessee, Unionists of, 23, 28; importance to Federal and Confederate governments, 79; economic and strategic advantages of, 80; occupation by Federals, 81, 82; Longstreet in, 83, 84, 87; loss of feared by Grant, 91; misery in, 113; campaign over in, 116; evaluation of military occupation and campaigns, 116-17
East Tennessee Convention, 1861, 23
East Tennessee Historical Society, 5, 7; *Publications,* 6, 7
East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad, 96, 136
Elliot, W. L., Union general, 112
Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln's, 10ff;

Fremont's, 13, 24
Emigration of Europeans to America, 169-70, 170n
England, visit of Kossuth to, 163, 163n; 165, 166 (see also Great Britain)
Erwin, James, describes David Crockett, 44
Everett, Edward, nominated by National Union party convention, 5
Ewing, Thomas, statesman, 13; quoted, 16, 22; at Washington Peace Convention, 20; letter to William H. Seward, 27; preferred election of Lincoln as president, 32
"Farmer of Madison," opposes Crockett, 65-66, 66n
Farnsworth, H. A., 132
Farragut (see Campbell's Station)
Favre, Simon, 141, 141n, 142-43; interpreter, 147, 155, 157, 160
Ferrero, Edward, Union officer at Fort Sanders, 106, 107
Fillmore, Millard, ex-president, 12; quoted, 14-15; confidence in President Lincoln, 18; speech in Buffalo, 21-22; favors election of McClellan, 33; deplores death of Lincoln, 37; 162, 164n, 166n
Fink, Harold S., "The East Tennessee Campaign and the Battle of Knoxville in 1863," 79-117
First Creek (Knoxville), 96, 97
Fitzgerald, William, Crockett's opponent, elected, 65-67; defeated, 67
Fleming, John M., Unionist, opposed the Lincoln administration in 1864, 36n
Flint Hill (Knoxville), 96
Folmsbee, Stanley J., and Anna Grace Catron, "David Crockett: Congressman," 40-78
Fooy, Benjamin, interpreter, 141-42, 153n
Forked Deer River, 72, 76
Fort Buckner (Fort Loudon), 95 (see also Fort Sanders)
Fort Dickerson (Knoxville), 97
Fort Higley (Knoxville), 97, 102
Fort Loudon (Fort Buckner), 95 (see also Fort Sanders)
Fort St. Stephen, 157, 157n, 159
Fort Sanders, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102; description of, 103-05; Union officers in charge of, 106; attack upon, 107-09
Fort Tombigbee, 159, 159n
Fort Stanley (Knoxville), 97
Fort Sumter, 21, 22
Foster, John G., Union general, from Cumberland Gap, relieves Burnside, 112, 114, 115
Foster, John W., Union colonel at Knoxville, Sept. 1, 1863, 82
Fourcher, Pedro, 143, 143n
France, possible aggressor against Belgium, 165n; "coup d'état" of Louis Napoleon, 166
Franchimastabé (Choctaw chief), 145-46, 152
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, 130n
Fredericksburg, battle of, 80, 81, 83
Fremont, John C., issues the Missouri emancipation proclamation Aug. 1861, 13; overruled by President Lincoln, 24.
French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, 7
French Broad River, 90, 99
Gales, Joseph A., 45 (see also Gales and Seaton)
Gales and Seaton, editors, 45, 45n, 55, 56, 56n, 57, 57n, 75
Gálvez, Bernardo de (governor of La.), 154, 154n
Garden Study Club of Nashville, *History of Homes and Gardens of Tennessee,* 127n
Gatlin, Radford, 8
Gay Street (Knoxville), 97
Gayoso de Lemos, Manuel, letter to Baron de Carondelet, 141-42, 145, 148
Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims, Vol. I. Abstracted from Applications by Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon, noted, 182
General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union, by Warren W. Hassler, Jr., noted, 181
Georgia, 83, 110, 111, 114, 123, 123n
Gettysburg, battle of, 80, 84, 106
Gibraltar, 163n
Gibson County, Tenn., 40, 49
Goggin, James M., Confederate officer, 85, 108, 109
Goods for Indians listed, 144
Gracie, Archibald, Jr., Confederate general, 105
Grandeur in Tennessee, by Gifford A. Cochran, 127n
Granger, Gordon, Union general, 111, 113, 114, 115
Grant, Ulysses S., at Vicksburg, 80, 81, 82, 84; to mass forces against Bragg, 85, 86, 87; reports to, from Burnside, 88, 89, 91, 92; defeat of Bragg at Missionary Ridge, 97; efforts to relieve Burnside, 100-01, 111, 113, 115
Great Britain, dependence upon world trade, 170-71 (see also England)
Great Smoky Mountains, 80, 90
Greek Revival Architecture in America, by Talbot Hamlin, 127n
Green, Duff, 45, 53, 55
Greene County, records of, 119n; Henderson Station in, 135
Greeneville Intelligencer, 137
Greeneville, Tennessee, 118; burial place of Andrew Johnson, 119; 119n, 120, 120n; Chancery Court of, 121, 123, 123n, 125, 128, 130, 131, 132n, 136; Home Federal Savings Bank of, 138n
Grundy, Felix, senator from Tenn., 73, 74
Greensburg, Indiana, 129
Guggenheim, John Simon, Memorial Foundation, 10n

Hamlin, Talbot, *Greek Revival Architecture in America,* 127n
Hankins, J. C., 132, 134
Hardee, W. J., Confederate general, 89, 102
Hardy, Mrs. Mollie (Farr), 123n
Harmon House, Greeneville, 128
Harrison, William Henry, nominated for president, 74
Hartranft, John F., Union officer, 93, 94
Hassler, Warren W., Jr., *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union,* noted 181
Hatchie River, 62n, 72, 76
Hays, Samuel Jackson, 66
Hemphill, Joseph, his road bill rejected, 60-61
Henley, David, office of, 8
Historic American Buildings Survey, 119n, 127n
History of Homes and Gardens of Tennessee, Garden Study Club of Nashville, 127n
Holloway, Laura, 138, 138n
Holston River, 90, 99, 116
Home Depot (Afton), 136
Hood, John B., Confederate general, 89, 93, 94, 105, 114
Hooker, Joseph, comes to aid of Grant at Chattanooga, 86, 87; defeat of Bragg, 98
Hopper, R. W., 132
Horn, Stanley F., *The Decisive Battle of Nashville,* noted, 179
Hotchkiss Valley Road, 93
Houston, Sam, Crockett's letter about, 57n
Hudson, Florence Sutherland, comp., *"We Cousins" (Virginia to Texas).* Vol. I, noted, 182
Huff's (Hough's) Ferry, 92, 93, 112
Hughes, A. M., 64
Hülsemann, Chevalier (Austrian *chargé* in Washington), 164n
Humes, Thomas W., 95, 100, 107
Humphrey's Brigade (Confederate), 105, 108
Humphrey, William, Union officer at Fort Sanders, 106
Hungary, recent efforts for freedom, 161; upheaval of 1849, 161 (see also Magyar refugees)
Huntsman, Adam, lawyer and political newspaper writer, 66n, 68; opponent of David Crockett, 76; letter to Polk, 76-77; defeats Crockett, 77; 78
Indian policy, of Andrew Jackson, opposed by Crockett, 63-65
Indiana, 81
Indianapolis Journal, 139, 139n, 140
Internal improvements, David Crockett's stand on, 60-62; efforts for river improvement, 72, 76
Interior, Department of, 119 (see also, National Park Service)
"Is Civil War History Polarized? A Question Suggested by the Career of Thomas A. R. Nelson," by Thomas B. Alexander, 10-39
Isacks, Jacob, 52, 61
Jack Downing Gazette, 75
Jackson, Andrew, relations with David Crockett, 40-78; vetoed the Maysville Road bill, 61; letter to Alfred Balch, 1835, 74; franking privilege used, 77
Jackson, Thomas J. ("Stonewall"), 83, 85
Jackson, Tenn., 43, 77; *Gazette,* 49, 52, 54, 57n, 58, 58n, 61n, 63, 64, 65, 66n
"Jacobinism" (European) of 1849, 162, 163
James, Ben, 157
Jefferson City, Tennessee, 123
Jefferson County, 8, 100
Jenkins, Micah, Confederate general, 89, 93, 94, 105, 106, 107, 108
Johnson, Andrew, efforts to keep East Tennessee in the Union, 23; supported by Conservatives, 38; military governor of Tennessee, 79; early life, 118-19; his great-granddaughter, 120n; security for William Brannan, 121; purchaser of Brannan residence, 121; completion of house, 122; brief review of his political life, 124, 129; home occupied by soldiers, 130-31; return to his Greeneville home, 131, 136; death of, 136
Johnson, Andrew, Jr. (Frank), 119n, 129, 136, 137, 137n, 138
Johnson, Bushrod R., Confederate general, 103, 105
Johnson, Cave, 60, 73, 74
Johnson, Dr. Charles, 129, 136
Johnson, Eliza (Mrs. Andrew), 129, 136, 137
Johnson, Reverdy, advocated an emancipation amendment to the Constitution, 26
Johnson Homestead, restoration started, 118; sold to Federal government, 119; congressional appropriation for, 119; architectural report on, 119, 119n; original designer and builder of, 120-23; location of 120-22; early ownership of original structure, 120-21; purchased and completed by Johnson, 121-23; enlarged by Johnson, 124; description of house (1849-1851), 125-29; occupied by troops during Civil War and Reconstruction, 129-31; improvements made by Johnson upon his return, 131-34; furnishings, 134-36; disposal after Johnson's death, 137; possession and remodeling by Mrs. Patterson, 138-39; will of Mrs. Patterson regarding, 140
Johnson (Andrew) papers, 118, 120n, 121n, 122, 132, 133n, 134n
Johnson, Col. Robert, 129, 133, 134, 136
Johnston, Joseph E., Confederate general, 84
Jones, Dr. Calvin, 67
Jones, G. and J. C. Greenway, 121

Jones, Sam, Confederate general, 98, 103
Jones, William E., Confederate general, 103
Jonesboro, Tenn., 125, 133
Judd, Henry A., 120n
Kentucky, borders crossed by East Tennessee Unionists, 79; Union forces in, 80, 81, 82, 86, 114, 116
Kerbaugh House (Greeneville), 119, 122, 124, 128
Kerr, Robert, 120
Kershaw's Brigade (Confederate), 105
Kingston, 82, 90, 91
Kingston Pike (Road), Knoxville, 93, 95
"Know-Nothing" party, 170n
Knox County, history committee, 7; census, 8; academies, 8
Knoxville, assault upon, Nov. 29, 1863, 79, 82, 85, 86; preparations of Burnside and of Longstreet for encounter, 88-93; plans of Poe for defense of, 94; siege of, 95-112; fortifications, 95; description of defenses and topography, 96-98, 113; additional Union leaders and forces at, 113-14, 115, 116, 117
Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad (Tennessee and Kentucky), 98
Knoxville Enquirer, 56
Knoxville Register, 55
Kossuth, Louis, visit to U. S., 162; in England, 163; aided in escape by U. S., 163n; arrival and visit in England, 163-65; arrival in U. S., 164n, 166, 166n; condemns Russia, 167n
Kronstadt, Russia, 164n
Ladies of the White House, by Laura C. Holloway, 138
L'Ainse a la Graisse, 157
Lanzos, Manuel de, 143, 143n, 144
Lauderdale County from Earliest Times, ed. by Kate Johnston Peters, noted, 180
Laurel Ave. (Knoxville), 103
Laws, Evander, Confederate general, 94
Lawson McGhee Library, 3, 4, 6
Lea, Pryor, 52; letters critical of David Crockett, 55-57
Leadbetter, Danville, Confederate general and chief engineer to Bragg, 102, 104
Lee, Robert E., defeat at Gettysburg, 80, 81; relationship with Longstreet, 83, 84, 85, 88, 106, 116
Lenoir's Station (Lenoir City), 90, 91, 92, 93, 99, 117
Library of Congress, 119n, 120n, 127n, 130n
Life and Adventures of Colonel David Crockett, 53n, 57n
Life of Martin Van Buren, . . . written by A. S. Clayton for David Crockett, 75
Lincoln, Abraham, president, 11-13; support of, 16; emancipation proclamation, 10ff, 36; re-election, 36; death, 36; sought early reoccupation of East Tennessee, 79; puts Burnside in command in East Tennessee, 81; concern over Burnside's low supplies, 91; 118, 129
"Lion of the West," drama, relation to Crockett legend, 65, 66n
Little River, 99
Little Tennessee River, 90, 91, 93, 99-100
Locke, John, opposed Polk's vacant land bill, 48
Longstreet, General James, 82; career, 83; ideas of strategy, 84; under Bragg at Chickamauga, 85; quarrel with Bragg, 85; plans for attack against Burnside, 87-92; complaints to Bragg, 89; skirmishes with Burnside forces, 92-94; siege of Knoxville and assault on Fort Sanders, 95-112; has news of Bragg, 110; withdraws to Rogersville, 112-14; condition of troops, 115; rejoins Lee, 116; comparison with Burnside, 117
Louis Napoleon, 166
Loudon, Tenn., 82, 87, 90, 91, 92, 94
Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 116
Louisville, Tenn., 90
Lowry, Brown & Co., 121
Lowry-Snapp House, 124, 127
Lovejoy, Mr., 130
Luttrell, Ella, 3
Luttrell, James, 3
Luttrell, Laura E., early life, 3; public school teaching, library training, 4; library work in Indiana and Tennessee, organizes McClung Historical Collection, 4; head, McClung Collection, 5; charter member East Tennessee Historical Society, 5; member Tennessee Historical Society, 5; member Tennessee Historical Commission, 6; contributor to historical periodicals and history of Knox County, 6-8
Luttrell, Mary, 3
Mabry's Hill (Knoxville) 96, 97, 102
McCammon Ave. (Knoxville), 97
McCardle, Eliza, 118
McClellan, George B., presidential candidate, 32-38; Union general, 81
McClung, Calvin M., 4; Collection, 4, 5
McDonald, John, letter to William Panton, 150-51, 156
McGee, Malcolm (mestizo Chickasaw chief), 147, 147n, 157
McGillivray, Alexander, 145, 156, 159
McGillivray, Daniel, 151
McLaws, Lafayette, Confederate general, 89, 93, 94, 97, 101-02, 105, 106, 107, 108-10, 115
McLean, C. D., editor, 56n, 59
Mad Dog (Creek leader), 159n
Madison County, 41, 65
Magyars, revolt of, 1849, 161; refugees, 163n, 164, 165, 165n, 166, 166n, 167n, 168n, 169n (see also Hungary)
Mallary, R. C., 52, 53
Malone, Henry Thompson, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition,* noted, 180

Manassas to Appomattox Courthouse, by James Longstreet, 85, 98, 108
Maloney, Thomas, 137
Mangum, W. P., 74
"Manifest Destiny," 161, 163
Mann, A. Dudley, 166n
Margot River (see Wolf River)
Marseilles, 163n
Martin, William T., Confederate general, 100, 110, 115
Marx, Karl, 161
Maryville, 90, 111
Massachusetts Colonization Society, 26
Marye's Heights, Fredericksburg, 81, 83
Maysville Road bill, vetoed by President Jackson, 60; supported by Crockett, 61
Meade, George Gordon, Union general, 86
Melrose Place (Knoxville), 97
Memphis, Tenn., 44, 45, 58, 61
Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, Vol. IV, *1845-1857,* ed. by Robert H. White, noted, 179
Metzerott, W. G. & Co., 135
Middle Tennessee, 46, 50n
Millen, D. M., 53
Miller, Pleasant M., from Knoxville, removed to the Western District, 57
Mingo Buscouche (Choctaw chief), 157, 157n
Missionary Ridge, 85, 97, 98, 102, 103, 106, 113, 116
Mississippi, conventions in, 75; Union forces in, 80, 81, 86, 87; Military Division of the, under Grant, 86
Missouri Republican, 58
Mitchell, J. C., 52
Montgomery, James R., *The University of Tennessee Builds for the Twentieth Century: A History of the University of Tennessee during the Administration of President Brown Ayres, 1904-1919,* by James R. Montgomery, noted, 179
Montgomery, Tenn., 81
Moore, George F., 108
Morgan County, Tenn., 81-82
Mountain Leader (see Piomingo)
"Mossy Creek," 123
Muscle Shoals, 60
Nashville, 127n, 129
Nakehetoches Indians, 152, 152n
Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, 116
National Banner and Nashville Whig, 54
National Intelligencer (Washington), 12, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 33, 34, 36, 56n, 75
National Park Service, 119, 119n, 120n
National Republican party, 44, 54, 54n
"Neill S. Brown and Russian Reaction to American Sympathy for the Hungarian Exiles, 1851-52: Some Documents," ed. by Joseph O. Baylen, 161-71
Nelson, Mary, 4
Nelson, Thomas A. R., political career during Civil War, 10, 13; urged moderation, 17; campaigns for John Bell, 18; recommends measures of reconciliation, 21; efforts to keep East Tennessee in the Union, 23; captured, 24; reaction to Emancipation Proclamation, 1863, 28-29; supports McClellan for president, 36; gives support to Andrew Johnson, 38; 95
Netherland, John, Unionist, 36n
New Tombigbee, 143, 143n
Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia, 161, 164n, 165, 165n, 166, 167, 168, 169, 169n
Nicholasville, Ky., 81
Ninth Michigan Cavalry, 130
North Carolina, military operations in, 1863, 83
Obion County, Tenn., 69n
Obion River, 72, 76
O'Gorman, James F., 120n
Ogoulayacabe (Chickasaw chief) 142, 142n, 143, 145, 152
"Old Burnie" (Gen. Burnside), 92
Olivier, Pedro (Capt.), 159
"Old Pete" (Gen. Longstreet), 88
Old Tombigbee, 143
Overton, John ("Aristides"), attack upon David Crockett and Thomas Williamson, 41
Palmerston, Lord, 165n
Panic of 1873, 136
Panton, William, merchant, 142n, 148; letter from John McDonald, 150-51
"Papers from the Spanish Archives relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest," tr. and ed. by D. C. and Roberta Corbitt, XXI, Jan.-Feb., 1793, 141-60
Park, Rev. Dr. James, 99
Parke, John G., Union general, 90, 100, 114, 115
Parson Clapp of the Strangers' Church of New Orleans, ed. by John Duffy, noted, 182
Partee, Squire B., 49
Patterson, Andrew Johnson, 137, 139
Patterson, Belle, 129
Patterson, Judge David T., 129, 132, 137, 138
Patterson, Martha Johnson (Mrs. David T.), 120, 129, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139
Patterson, Mattie B. (Mrs. Andrew J.), 119n, 140
Patton, George, brother-in-law of David Crockett, 67
Patton, Robert, death, 67
Paulding, James Kirke, 66n
Payne, Merryman, 120, 122
Pendleton, George, 34
Perry, Hardy, Indian trader, 141, 141n, 156, 157, 158; account of, 153
Peters, Kate Johnston, ed., *Lauderdale County from Earliest Times,* noted, 180
Pickett, George Edward, Confederate general, 106
Piomingo (Chickasaw chief), 141-43, 141n, 145, 148; and others, letter to

Baron de Carondelet, 154; asks for cannon, 157
Pitchlynn, John, 146n, 158
Poe, Orlando N., staff engineer to Burnside, 94; description of defenses of Knoxville, 96-98; 101, 103, 104, 106, 113
Polk, James K., efforts to get the Tennessee "Vacant Land" bill passed, 45-52; criticizes Crockett, 53, 57; 59, 62, 73, 74, 74n, 75, 77n, 78n
Portell, Capt. Thomas, 157n
Potter, Caleb, 141n
Potter, Cobb, 141
Potter, Robert B., Union general, 91, 92, 93
Powell mansion, 108
"Pretty Betsy," gun given to Crockett, 72, 72n
Price, Moses (Cherokee half-breed), 150
Price, Thomas, 142-43; interpreter, 147, 148, 155
Prussia, attitude toward Hungarian refugees, 165, 169
Radicalism, rise of during Reconstruction, 37-38
Railroads, 80, 82, 84, 87, 89, 90, 92, 96, 98, 103, 112, 116
Raleigh, N. C., 118
Ramsey, Dr. J. G. M., 99, 100
Randall, James G., quoted, 11
Ransom, Robert, Confederate general, 110, 112
Rappahannock River, 83
Reconstruction, period of, 38-40, 129
Red Shoes of Tuskeegee, 143, 143n
Register of Debates in Congress, 53, 57, 63
Republican party, 16
Rhode Island, 114
Richmond, as capital of the Confederacy, 84
Ringgold, Ga., 110
Roanoke Island, taken by Burnside, 81
Robertson, Col. Elijah, 146, 146n
Robertson, James, 142, 142n
Rogersville, Tenn., 110, 112, 113
Roosevelt, President (Franklin Delano), 119
Rosecrans, W. S., Union general, in central Tennessee, 80, 81, 84; needs assistance, 82; at Chattanooga, 85, 116, 117
Rothrock, Mary U., "Laura Elizabeth Luttrell," 3-9
Rumbough, Bessie, 137
Rumbough-Hacker House (Greeneville), 124, 127, 128
Russell, Alfred, 120, 120n
Russellville, Tenn., 116
Russia, suppression of Hungarian revolt of 1956 (by Soviet Union), 161; and of revolt of 1849 (by Imperial government), 161; effects of visit of Louis Kossuth to U. S., 162; condemned by Kossuth, 163n, 167n; offended by American liberation of Kossuth, 163, 164n; attitude toward foreigners, 164; railroad and dock building in, 164n; attitude on English hospitality to Hungarian refugees, 165; hostility to free institutions, 166; attitude toward U. S., 166-69
St. Petersburg, Russia, 161, 163, 164n, 165, 168, 169, 169n
St. Petersburg mine (Va.), 81
Salts, T. B. & Co., 132
Sanders, William P., Union officer, killed, 95
Savannah Mercury, 54
Schwarzenberg, Prince (of Austria), 164n
Scott, Samuel W., 100
Seaton, William W., editor, *The National Intelligencer,* 12; peace efforts urged, 20-21; support of Lincoln, 24; analysis of the Emancipation Proclamation, 28; endorses McClellan's nomination, 34; retires from editorship of the *National Intelligencer,* 36; associate of Gales, 45n, 53, 56, 57 (see also Gales and Seaton)
Second Creek (Knoxville), 96, 97, 106
Second World War, 119
Seddon, James, secretary of war for the Confederacy, 84, 85
Seventeenth Street (Knoxville), 103
Sevier County, 100
Sevierville Hill (Knoxville), 97
Sevierville road, 100
Seward, William H., secretary of state, 27; supports Lincoln's proclamation, 29; 35
Shackford, James A., 40n, 42n, 43n, 45n, 52, 54, 67n, 69n, 71
Shankman, Sam, *Baron Hirsch Congregation: From Ur to Memphis,* noted, 182
Shaw, John, 67
Sherman, William Tecumseh, 13; comes to aid of Grant at Chattanooga, 86, 87, 91; opinion on Knoxville fortifications, 95; defeat of Bragg at Missionary Ridge, 97, 101; seeks to aid Burnside, 111-14; returns to Chattanooga, 115; 116, 117
Sixteenth Street (Knoxville), 97
Sixth Florida (Confederate regiment), at Johnson home, 130
Slavophiles (anti-Western party of Russia), 164n
Smith, Richard, cashier of U. S. Bank, 67
Smith, Seba ("Jack Downing"), 75
Smith, W. F. ("Baldy"), 86
Smith, Walter Bedell, 161, 162
Smoky Mountains (see Great Smoky Mountains)
Snelling, Job, 41
Socialism, communism, etc., of Europe in 1849, 162, 163
Speeches on the Passage of the Bill for the Removal of the Indians Delivered in the Congress of the United States, April and May, 1830, 63
Sorrel, G. Moxley, Confederate officer, 89, 115
Southwest Territory, 142n

South in the Revolution, 1763-1789, by John Richard Alden, noted, 181
Southern Statesman (Jackson), 66n
Southern Railway, 96, 103
Southern Whigs, 58
Soviet Union (see Russia)
Standifer, James, 61
Spelling, Joseph I., 120, 120n, 122
Stanton, Edwin M., 29, 30
Stevenson, Andrew, speaker of the House, 45
Stevenson, Carter L., Confederate general, 88
Still Rebels, Still Yankees and Other Essays, by Donald Davidson, noted, 181
Stover, Col. David, 129
Stover, Mary Johnson (Mrs. David), 129, 131, 136, 137, 138
Suffolk campaign, 83, 84
Swan, Judge William G., 88
Sweetwater, 88, 89, 90
Tabaka (Choctaw chief), 145
Tailor Shop, purchased by Andrew Johnson, 119, 119n; sold to federal government, 119
Tapina akio, 144
Taskihatoka (King of the Chickasaws), 143, 143n, 145, 147, 152, 153, 157, 158
Taylor, Richard (Cherokee chief), 151, 151n
Taylor, Zachary, 162, 166n
Temperance Hill (Knoxville), 95
Temple, Oliver P., a pro-Lincoln man in 1864, 36n; absent at siege of Knoxville, 1863, 95; 99, 113
Tennessee, public lands of, 45ff
Tennessee (American Guide Series), 127n
Tennessee Historical Commission, 6, 7
Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 7
Tennessee Historical Society, 7
Tennessee House, Greeneville, 137n
Tennessee River, 82, 90, 92, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 111, 112, 146
Tennessee supreme court, 136
Texas, 57n, 78
Third Creek (Knoxville), 95, 96, 98, 103
Thomas, George H., at Chickamauga, 86; at Chattanooga, 86-87; defeat of Bragg, 91, 98
Todd, William, 101, 106, 114
Tombigbee District, 141, 143
Tombigbee River, 142, 148
Treaty of Holston, 150, 150n
Toupa houman (Choctaw chief), 156, 156n
Troy, Tenn., 69n
Turkey, escape of Kossuth from, 163n, 166
Turnbull, John, 142, 142n, 143, 145; store, 152
Tyler, John, died 1861, 12, 19
Ullrich, Charles, Jr., 135
Union Bank of Jackson, 77
Unionists, of East Tennessee, 23, 36n, 79
United Daughters, of the Confederacy, monument, 103
University of North Carolina, land warrants, 46, 50
University of Nashville (Cumberland College), 47
University of Tennessee Builds for the Twentieth Century: A History of the University of Tennessee during the Administration of President Brown Ayres, 1904-1919, by James R. Montgomery, noted, 179
University of Tennessee, Library, 3, 4; College Hill, 96; College of Agriculture, 98
United States Census, 1850, for Knox County, 8
U. S. S. Mississippi, aids in escape of Kossuth, 163n
United States Telegraph, 55, 56
Unna Entiabe (Choctaw Indian), 154
Van Buren, Martin, influence on Jackson, 60; nominated as a candidate for president, 71-75
Verplanck, G. C., 54, 54n
Vicksburg, Grant at, 80, 82, 84, 86
Vienna, 169, 169n
Villebeuvre, Juan de la, 141, 141n; letters to Baron de Carondelet, 142-44, 144-46, 146-47, 147-49, 151-53, 154, 156-58, 158-60; letter to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 149-50; 145n, 155, 155n
Vine Street (Knoxville), 96
Virginia, Suffolk campaign in, 83, 84; defended by Lee, 84; soldiers from, to aid Longstreet, 88, 89, 98; 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117
Walnut Hills (site of Vicksburg), 145, 145n
Walker, Joel, state senator for West Tennessee, 41
Washington *Globe,* 77
Washington Peace Convention, 19
Washington, D. C., 58; road to Buffalo and New Orleans proposed, 61, 129, 135n
Watauga River, 136
Watts, John (chief of the Chickamauga Cherokees), 150, 150n
"We Cousins" (Virginia to Texas), Vol. I, comp. by Florence Sutherland Hudson, noted, 182
Weakley County, 49, 65, 65n, 67, 69n
Webster, Daniel, 13, 72, 74, 163, 164n, 166n, 168n
Weems, J. C., 52
Welles, Gideon, 29
Welling, James C., associate editor, of the *National Intelligencer,* 20, 36
West Point Military Academy, 81, 83, 108
West Tennessee (Western District), 40ff
Wheeler, Joseph, Confederate general, 84, 88, 89, 90, 97, 110
Whig party, 10ff, 44, 69, 70, 74, 162, 167n
Whigs, Old Line, or Constitutionalists, 10-13

Whistler, George Washington (soldier-engineer), 164n
White, Hugh Lawson, supported by Crockett as presidential candidate, 73-75
White, Julius, Union general, 91, 92
"Wildfire, Nimrod," 65, 66n
White, Robert H., ed., *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee,* Vol. IV, *1845-1857,* noted, 179
Willcox, O. B., Union commander at Cumberland Gap, 101
Williams, Samuel Cole, chairman, Tennessee Historical Commission, 6-7
Williamson, Thomas, state senator defeated for re-election, 41
Willis, Jonathan, 120
Willson, John Q., 135
Wilson, J. H., Union officer, 92
Wilson, Richard (of Rockford), 99
Winchester, Marcus B., Memphis merchant, gave financial aid to David Crockett, 43
Winter's Gap (Tenn.), 82
Winthrop, Robert Charles, presidential elector, 1852, 13; quoted, 14-15; proposes compromise by border states, 1819; quoted, 19-20; addresses a colonization society, 26; prefers McClellan and Pendleton, 34-35; eulogizes Lincoln, 36-37
Wofford's Brigade (Confederate), 105
Wolf River, 142, 142n, 143, 152
Woods, John, 52, 53
Woods, Sheriff Richard M., 119n
Wright, Robert, publisher, 75
"Writings on Tennessee History, 1956," comp. by Pollyanna Creekmore, 172-78
Yagane houman (Choctaw chief), 145, 152
"Young America" interventionists, 161, 163, 164n, 167n
Ytalaghana (Italagana), Choctaw chief, 152, 152n

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